

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society



JULY 1941

PUBLISHED BY THE MYTHIC SOCIETY
THE DALY MEMORIAL HALL, CEMOTAPH ROAD, BANGALORE CITY



Vol. XXXII

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MATHURĀ: AN ANCIENT INDIAN CITY

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.G.S.,
F.R.A.S.B.

THE city of Mathurā (Pali : Madhurā)¹ was the capital of Śurasena, situated on the Jumna, at present included in the Agra Division of the United Provinces. The city was on the Upper Jumna about 270 miles in a straight line north-west of Kauśambi². The Jainas call it by the name of Saoripura or Sauryapura³. It was also called Madhupuri (present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city). Madhupuri, which was once the abode of Madhu, father of Lavaṇa, is said to have been founded by Śatruघna⁴.

The city is important as the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa. It was here that Kṛṣṇa killed Kamsa, the tyrant king of Mathurā. This city was known to the ancient Greeks as one of the most flourishing towns. Arrian knew it as the capital of the Śurasenas. Ptolemy mentions it as a city surrounded by high mounds⁵.

1. The difference is due to a mere linguistic peculiarity. (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttara*, Ch. 105, Bombay Recension).
2. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 526.
3. S. B. E. XLV, p. 112.
4. *Visnupurāṇa*, (Fourth Amṛta, Ch. 4).
5. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 374.

The city was prosperous, peaceful and populous, and the metropolis of king Subāhu of the race of valiant Kamsa. Alms were easily obtainable⁶. Fa-Hien who visited India in the fifth century A.D. came to the country of Ma-tāou-lo (Mathurā). He saw this country inhabited by many people who were happy: Those who cultivated the royal-land had to pay a portion of the gain to the state. The king governed the country without resorting to corporal punishment. Criminals were simply fined lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case. The king's body-guards and attendants were all paid. Throughout the whole country the people did not kill any living creature, nor drink any intoxicating liquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The *candālas* who used to inhabit this country were fishermen and hunters and used to sell flesh-meat. In the markets there were no butchers' shops and no shops for selling liquors.⁷

Hsien Tsang who visited India in the seventh century A.D. came to this country. According to his Travels, the country of Mathurā was above 5,000 *li* in circuit, while its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. The soil was very fertile and agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Mango trees were grown in orchards attached to the homesteads of the people. The country produced a fine-striped cotton cloth and gold. Its climate was hot. The manners and customs of the people were good. The people believed in the Law of Karma. There were Buddhist monasteries, deva-temples and the followers of the different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell. He also saw at Mathurā three stupas built by Asoka and the stupas for the relics of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Pūrṇacaitrīyānīputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula. He visited Upagupta's monastery at Mathurā, which was just one of the many Buddhist establishments of the place. It enclosed a stupa with a finger-nail relic of the Buddha. He saw a dried-up pond and not far from that pond there was a large wood in which there were footsteps of the Four Past Buddhas. He also saw the Nāṭabāṭavihāra and Urumapāda hill. The pilgrim seems to have made a hurried journey across a portion of the city of

6. Lefmann, Lalitavistara, pp. 21-22.

7. Legge, Fa-Hien's Travels, pp. 42-43.

Mathurā. He does not mention the great river which flowed past the east side of the city.⁸

Among the discoveries made at the village of Māt, situated about nine miles north of the city of Mathurā on the left bank of the river Jumna, the following are noteworthy:—

- (1) A life-size statue of king Kanis̄ka which is about 5 ft. 4 in. high including the base. The head and both the arms of the statue are lost.
- (2) A tank where the Kusān king Kanis̄ka discharged his novel task towards Varuṇa, the god of waters.
- (3) Several Naga images.
- (4) A mound marking the site of a Buddhist sanctuary near the village of Jaisinghpura situated three miles from Mathurā towards Vṛndāvana.
- (5) A large mosque of red sand-stone built by the Emperor Aurangzeb on the ruins of the great temple of Keśava-deva situated at Kāṭchā forming part of the modern city of Mathurā.
- (6) A Buddhist stūpa.

A careful study of the Mathurā school of sculpture leads us to the conclusion that the flourishing period of the Gāndinara school must have preceded the reign of Kanis̄ka. In the course of excavations, many sculptural fragments came to light, mostly of a later date. Among the earlier finds may be mentioned a broken four-fold Jain image with a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmaṇī of the Kusān period.⁹

There was an influx at Mathurā of the semi-Hellenistic art too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindusthan. There was a close relation between Mathura and the North-west and as an illustration of that the votive tablet of Lopāsobhikā is very much significant, the stūpa depicted on it being identical in form with the stūpas of the Scytho-Parthian

8. Watters, *On Yuna Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 301-313.

9. Explorations at Mathurā by J. Ph. Vogel: A.S.I. Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 120-33.

epoch at Taxila¹⁰. The sculptural remains found at Mathurā clearly indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence.¹¹ The most valuable Śaka-satrap monument at Mathurā discovered and first published by Bhagwānlāl Indrajī is in the form of a large lion carved in hard red sand-stone and intended to be the capital of a pillar. Its workmanship shows Persian influence. The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭī characters which give the genealogy of the Satraps ruling at Mathurā and according to these inscriptions the satraps of Mathurā were Buddhists.¹² It is interesting to note that the Pre-Kuṣāṇ sculptures of the Mathurā school are very instructive as they all emanate from one and the same school and those sculptures divide themselves into three main classes; the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C., the second to the following century, and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps. Their style is like that of the early school in a late and decadent phase when its art was becoming lifeless¹³.

Mathurā was, further, a great religious centre. Jainism was practised with great devotion there¹⁴. Under the Kuṣāns, Mathurā was an important religious centre of the Jains¹⁵. The Jains seem to have been firmly established in the city from the middle of the second century B.C. Many dedicatory inscriptions prove that the Jains were a flourishing community at Mathurā in the reign of Kanishka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva¹⁶. Buddhism gained ground in Mathurā in the very life-time of the Buddha through the efforts and active preaching of Mahākaccāyana who was one of the most distinguished apostles of the Buddhist faith. King Avantiputta of Mathurā is said to have been converted to Buddhism by Mahākaccāyana by his famous discourse on the caste-system sometime after the Buddha's demise¹⁷. The city where Buddhism was a

10. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 633.

11. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 158.

12. Rapson, Ancient India, pp. 142-3.

13. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, I, p. 93.

14. Smith, Early History of India, p. 301.

15. Rapson, Ancient India, p. 174.

16. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, I, p. 113.

17. Majjhima, II, pp. 83 ff.

predominant faith for several centuries, was a stronghold of Sarvāstivāda along with Sārnāth and Śrāvasti in the Kuṣāṇ age. It was a centre of Kṛṣṇa worship as early as the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.).¹⁸ Vaishnavism and Bhāgavatism found their place in this city. In the Śaka-Kuṣāṇ period it had ceased to be the stronghold of Bhāgavatism.¹⁹ Vāsudeva was a scion of the royal family of Mathurā.²⁰ The paucity of the Bhāgavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicated that Bhāgavatism did not find much favour at the royal court, because from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. the people were usually Buddhists and were with a few exceptions not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva.²¹ In modern times, it is one of the sacred cities and its sanctity is very great. Buddha's influence in this city was felt to a certain extent. He was offered alms by a woman of Uttarā-Madhura.²² Buddha frequented this locality and while proceeding from Mathurā to Veranī, he was worshipped by many householders.²³ Mathurā which is an important centre of both art and cult has given a tangible proof of the existence of Nāga worship in the form of a stone-slab, now in the Lucknow Museum, which bears an inscription in Brāhma characters of the Kuṣāṇ period. The cult of the Nagas flourished at Mathurā side by side with Buddhism and Jainism during the Kuṣāṇ period.²⁴ The existence of serpent worship at Mathurā is also supported by the Mathurā Nāga statuette inscription which is important in view of the story of Kāliyanāga and his suppression by Kṛṣṇa recorded in the Purāṇas.

The Jain Āyāga-paṭas found at Mathurā cannot but be supposed to have a direct or indirect bearing on the later

18. Cambridge History of India, p. 167.

19. Ray Chaudhury, Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, p. 99. But a Brāhma inscription edited by Dr. Lodder (E.I., Vol. XXIV, p. 194) distinctly records the installation of the images of Pañcaviras, the five Bhāgavata deities headed by Baladeva, during the reign of Śodasa, son of the Śaka Kṣatrapa Rajuvula.

20. Uttarā Madhura according to Ghata Jātaka.

21. Early History of the Vaishnava Sects, p. 100.

22. Vimānavatthu Commentary, pp. 118-19.

23. Ānguttara Nikāya, II, p. 57.

24. Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā by J. M. Vogel: A.S.I. Annual Report, 1908-09, pp. 159-163.

Visṇupātas met with in Bengal and other places. The Bacchanalian scenes beneath an Aśoka tree freely sculptured in a stone supporting a bowl are still awaiting an explanation for their association with the Buddhist objects of worship²⁵.

The importance of Mathurā in the political history of India is to some extent great. Twenty-three Śurasena kings of Mathurā are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa as contemporaries of the future kings of Magadha.²⁶ The Śurasena king of Mathurā in Buddha's time was called Avantiputta and was therefore almost certainly the son of a princess of Avanti²⁷. Mathurā, the home of the Vṛṣnis and Andhakas, was later evacuated by them.²⁸ Yudhiṣṭhīra installed Vajranāva on the throne of Mathurā.²⁹ Sons and grandsons of king Sādhīna ruled Mathurā.³⁰

A local dynasty of kings or feudatory chiefs appears to have exercised sway over Mathurā in the time of the early Sunga-Mitra kings of Magadha. King Dhanabhūti I, of this dynasty, son of Āgarajū (Āṅgāradyut) and grandson of king Viśvadeva, erected the ornamental gateways at Bharhat in *circa* 100 B.C. in the dominions of the Sungas³¹ while king Dhanabhūti II, evidently one of the successors of Dhanabhūti I, erected a Torana-vedikā at a Buddhist stūpa at Mathurā³².

Mathurā and Pañcāla continued to be included even in the dominions of the later Mitra kings whose coins (dubbed by Cunningham as "Pañcāla Series") were discovered at these places as also at Kumrāhār (Pāṭaliputra)³³. Among the later Mitra kings, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamittra and Bhāspatimitra are "definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories"

- 25. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, New Sculptures from Mathurā, Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XI, Pt. II, p. 57.
- 26. Chap. 99.
- 27. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 155.
- 28. Brhma Purāṇa, Chap. 14, Sl. 54.; Harivamṣa, Chap. 37.
- 29. Bhāgavata Māhākāvya, Chap. 1.
- 30. Oldenberg, Dīpavamṣa, p. 27.
- 31. Barua & Sinha, Barhat Inscriptions, Nos. 1-3; Barua, Barhat, Bā, I, p. 29.
- 32. Cunningham, Stūpas of Bharhat.
- 33. Cunningham, Coins, pp. 84-88; Allan, Catalogue pp. CXIX-CXX; Marshall, Archaeological Survey, Report for 1907-08, p. 46; Bloch, A.S.R. 1908-09, p. 147.

and the rest, Bhatsvātinītra, Dharmamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Varuṇamitra and Gomitra, are connected with Kauśāmbī and Mathurā³⁴. The Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela records the fact of submission of Brahmamitra, the then king of Magadha, to Khāravela, the king—overlord of Kalinga, as well as the hurried retreat of a Greek king (Yavanarāja) whose name is read Dimitra (Demetrios) by Stein Konow and Jayaswal.³⁵

Menander³⁶, king of Kabul and the Punjab, conquered Mathurā³⁷. Mathurā was governed by native princes whose names can be found on coins in the second century B.C. The Hindu Kings of Mathurā were finally replaced by Hagaṇa, Hagaṇāśa Rājivula and other Saka Satraps who probably flourished in or about the first century A.D.³⁸ This is corroborated by the epigraphic evidence which is confirmed and amplified by the numismatic evidence.

After the Saka Kṣatrapas, the early Kuṣāṇ kings, Kaniska I, Vāsiṣṭha, Huviṣka, Kaniska II, and Vāsudeva I, effectively exercised their suzerainty over Mathurā for over a century.³⁹ A splendid Buddhist monastery bearing the name of Huviṣka was built at Mathurā in the second century A.D.⁴⁰ The great Kuṣāṇs in Mathurā were succeeded by the Nāga kings who, according to the Purāṇas, established themselves at Mathurā as at other places. The Nāga rule continued right up to the time of Samudragupta whose all-India conquest gave a death-blow to the independence of the Nāgas.

34. Barua, Gayā and Buddhagayā. Bk. I, p. 176. Political History Fourth Ed. pp. 334-335.

35. E. L. Vol. XX.

36. Many coins of Menander were discovered at Mathurā (R. D. Banerjee. Prā�in Mudrā, p. 50). At the close of the third century the cast-coins were issued by the kingdom of Mathurā, some of which bear the names of local kings in Brāhma script (Coins of India, Brown, p. 19). In the ruins of Mathurā many ancient copper coins along with the coins of Greek and Saka rulers were discovered (Prā�in Mudrā, p. 105).

37. Smith, Early History of India, p. 199.

38. Smith, Early History of India, P. 127.

39. Ibid. Fourth edn. p. 273; Ray Chaudhuri, Op. cit. p. 388.

40. Ibid. p. 271.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION

BY S. ŚRIKANTHA ŚĀSTRI, M.A.

IT is proposed to examine the nature and affinities of the Proto-Indian religion here, in the light of the seals, figurines and pottery discovered in the Indus Valley. Many of the seals can now definitely be taken to be amulets, since in the lowest levels at Harappa, miniature seals with legends have been discovered and they show that the seals were neither commercial receipts, historical documents, nor merely heraldic. The figurines also cannot be dismissed as toys, since Mackay thinks that the majority of them were used for worship¹. The funerary pottery, as Mr. M. S. Vats has suggested², is decorated with scenes probably indicating the conception of the Indus people about a life after death. Hence our assumptions, that the seals were used as amulets, that the figurines were used as votive offerings and that the funerary pottery was used as throwing some light on the eschatology of the times, may not be far from truth.

Following the analytical method of Frankfort³ we can roughly classify the seals as (a) decorative (b) representing action and (c) symbolical. It is not claimed that this division is exclusive and exhaustive, but it will be of use in making an objective approach to the problem, and where parallels are indicated, they are to be taken as tentative.

To the "decorative" class may be assigned :—

- (a) Geometrical designs—the Maltese cross, svastika, intertwined-snake patterns, heart-shaped and kidney-shaped designs, mat and basket patterns, intersecting circles, house, ship, animal-pens, etc.

1. Mackay. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*.

2. M. S. Vats. *Excavations at Harappa*.

3. Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*.

(b) Deities—Lord of herds, goats or antelopes facing each other, nude figures, processions, hunting scenes, composite monsters, fighting animals; three-faced deity with horns, surrounded by animals; antelope heads springing from Pipal tree; multiple-headed animals.

"Religious action" is depicted as:—human beings worshipping a deity in centre; epiphany of a tree-deity; a goddess in a tree facing a tiger; a deity with horned head-dress and mask (?) of a bull or buffalo attacking a tiger; a deity with flower head-dress subduing two tigers; tiger trampling on a man; feeding elephants, buffaloes, tigers, oxen, rhinoceros etc.; figurines of pregnant women, women lying on a couch, women with children and hands in front of the mouth; males kneeling or with stretched legs, hands lifted in adoration; females with head-dress supporting lamps or dishes; man bringing a duck, or leading a goat or bull towards a deity in a tree.

Secular and "symbolical" motifs are—"astronomical" seals with symbols of the zodiac; horoscopes (?), the serpent, dove, fish, ram, bull, elephant, cat, monkey, parrot, peacock, duck, buffalo, lion, tiger, jugate heads, falcon with snakes, toy-carts, beads, etc. used as amulets; the cult-object before the bull; portrait-figurines of the priests; male and clothed, dancing god and nautch girls, "Sumerian" heads; on funerary pottery, peacocks, fish, sun, eye, reeds, bulls, fishermen, crabs, tortoises, plants, lotuses, water-symbols; *linga*, *pōni*, chess-men, homo signs, gods, scutery-shapes, perforated pottery, symbols of divinity like horns, crown of plants, ornaments; cow and calf or goat and kid; animal file.

II

In Mesopotamia, the deities are always in human form. In the Indus culture however there are not more than a dozen divinities represented as human or semi-human beings. The crowned horn first appears in Sumer in the Jemdet Nasr period and not earlier, but in India horns are found from the earliest period. The Mother Goddess is represented only by her symbol in the Uruk period of Sumer, whereas in India figurines as well as the

mother-goddess symbol (the *yōsi*) occur together. Again, the worship of animals, is alien to Mesopotamia. The sacred herd motif of Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods is not found in the Indus seals in the same way showing that from the earliest traces of the Indus civilisation, it was predominantly an urban and not a pastoral civilisation. Moreover, though female figurines are found in such large numbers, they may be taken as votive offerings. Rather we may conclude that the Great God, the lord of beasts was the supreme deity and hence the worship of the Mother Goddess need not be taken as the predominant characteristic of the religion. It would be more natural to expect the cow rather than the bull figuring prominently, as in Sumer. Hence the worship of the Mother Goddess is no argument for asserting that the religion is non-Āryan; and female deities are also found in the Vēdic religion.⁴

Since most of the seals are amulets, we can assume that the symbols and figures have some reference to the various purposes to which they were applied. The most natural approach to the problem is therefore from the Atharva Vēda. I think that the usual views about this Vēda as far later in date than the other three or that it is the product of a different type of civilisation cannot be supported. The division of the Vēdas is merely from the utilitarian and pragmatic point of view. Further the Atharva Vēda embodies very old traditions and formulae. Again we cannot ignore the basic fact that most of the Sūktas are attributed to the same seers as in the other three Vēdas. Whatever doubts may be roused as to the authorship of the hymns, Indian tradition has

4. E.g. I-5-22.

अमे पल्लिरिहावहु देगनामुशतोरुपं । त्वष्टारं सोमपीतये ॥

आमा अम्न इहाक्षे होत्रां यविष्ट मारतीम् । वरुणी विष्णां वह ॥

अभिनो देवीरवसामहः शर्मणा नृपतीः । अचिन्तयत्पत्ताः सचन्ताम् ॥

इहेन्द्राणीमुपद्वये वरुणानीं त्वस्तये । अमनार्या सोमपीतये ॥

महोदौः पृथिवीचन इमं यज्ञ मिमिक्षिताम् । पिपूतां नो भरीमभिः ॥

तयोरिद धूतवत्स्या विष्णा रिहन्ति धीतिभिः । गन्धवीस्य धुवेपदे ॥

consistently held that the Rsis who figure in the Atharva are the same as in the other three. As for the argument that the meanings of the seals are no longer self-evident and it is unsafe to be guided by later texts (granting that these texts are later), we should note that the ritual rather than the literary texts can be good guides. The ritual texts and their commentaries are accepted by Frankfort as possible clues to the seals, because they preserve the old traditions.

If we disabuse our minds of all imaginary reconstruction of Vedic civilisation attempted by many scholars, we shall be able to make a nearer approach to the solution by analysing the seals and paintings on the funerary pottery and drawing parallels if not coincidences with the elements of the Atharvan civilisation.

(1) *The Sun-god.* In the Indus civilisation, the sun-god does not seem to have been represented in a human form. A deity under a bough with a head-dress of plants is more a vegetation deity. At the same time the Indus people could not have been uninterested in the solar phenomenon. Possibly the svastika, a circle with radiating lines, and the eye were the symbols employed. We find also the falcon. The eye, it is well-known, is connected with the sun—the all seer and giver of sight, to whom at the moment of death the sense of sight goes back. The falcon is the sun-bird, evolved from the sun's disc (*Suparśō Garutmanī*). Much has been written about the origin of the svastika⁵ and one of the explanations is that it represents the movements of the sun. Whereas in Sumer the sun-god—the prototype of Shamash and Marduk—is represented as seated in a boat, with a saw to cut decisions, with a plough, a quadruped (a lion with a human face), and scorpion-men guarding the mountains of sun-rise and sun-set, in India we do not come across such a representation. The scorpion symbol in the script is no safe guide. The lion is a symbol of the sun because in later astrology Leo is the house of the sun.

5. *Nirukta* (III-2) *Svastityaviniśā nāma*. Therefore the word Svasti at the beginning of the inscriptions translated as "Be it well" more appropriately means, "This is indestructable, eternal" i.e. *āchandrārkaāsthayī*. The Svastika is therefore the symbol of eternity.

In the Indus civilisation however, the tiger figures more prominently than the lion. The sun's chariot drawn by seven horses is also absent.

Another symbol of the sun is perhaps the bull as in Sumer. The fierce aspect of the sun is shown in the Sumerian seals as the Bull of Heaven whose body is filled with flames and whose onslaughts bring about a seven years' famine. The Ur seals show bulls whose bodies end in mountains (of the sun-god) watched by the guardians. A Susa seal has the sun-god rising between two couchant bulls. The Bull-man and Man-bull were later evolutions of the same theme. The Bull-Man is not Enkidu as assumed by previous scholars.

In the Vēdas, the terms *Vṛṣa* and *Mahiṣa* are applied to various deities. In the Atharva Vēda (XIII-2-43-44) Rōhita (sun) is addressed as the Bull arranging day and night; the sun is called the "earth filling bull (*mahiṣa*) compassing all." "With his horns he pushes the demon, with his eye slays man, with his ears hears what is best, the inviolable lord of Kine" (IX-4-17).

Mackay takes the six-rayed figure, one of the rays terminating with Urus head as a sun symbol. The hook-like rays have Cappadocian analogy. He says that in the Indus civilisation the people did not attach importance to the moon or stars being associated with an agricultural people. This is a feature, according to Sydney Smith of the religions of an agricultural population.

(2) *Fertility Gods.* A god under a curved structure is also found in Sumer. In the Indus seal the god is under a bough with leaves and on his head is a three-leaf ornament. It is possible that the resurrection of a vegetation deity is represented but the figure is not recumbent nor is there a goddess rousing it to life as in Sumer. The legend of Ishtar and Tammuz seems to be inapplicable. "Siva" is of course a fertility god associated with vegetation as well as animals but he is essentially a forest deity and not usually connected with agricultural operations like Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma who are associated with cows and ploughs. The god

on the seal may be a type of Rudra who in the Atharva Vēda is said to shake down pestilence as from a bough from on high.⁶

Another type seems to be the god within a vase-like structure, to whom a man is offering a goat or bull in sacrifice. A third representation is possibly of the deity round whom seven pig-tailed figures (perhaps the seven Mothers) are going in procession. The three-faced deity seated on a couch, with the *linga* prominent, surrounded by animals, or adored by two human beings at whose back there are two serpents, may be taken as a fertility-god.

This figure may be the three-headed Mahēśamūrti and the antelope (*ṛṣṇa*) below the seat may indicate a form of Śiva. If it is Agni, the affinity with Śiva is not excluded for Rudra is a form of the sacrificial Agni.⁷ The horns are common to Agni, Varuṇa and other gods. In the Atharva, it is said that five species belong specially to Bhava and Śarva—the kine, horses, men, goats and sheep. Virūpākṣa a form of sacrificial Agni is also described in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa (11.4.6) as having prominent *dantas* (horns or teeth or tusks) and as seated on a *īasyā*.

विश्वासोऽसि दन्ताद्विजस्तस्यते शश्वापणे गृहान्तरक्षे विमितं हिरण्यमयम् ।
तदेवानां हृदयान्यस्याये कुम्भे अन्तः सञ्जिहितानि ॥

His two watchmen are Balabhr̥t and Balasat, and his other names are Samudra, Viśvavyachas, Tutha, Viśvavēdaś Śyāstra, Prachētas, Sahasrākṣa and son of Brahman. In the later Buddhist tradition Virūpākṣa is the deity of the north-western quarter and associated with animals.

6. मानोऽभिलामत्यं देव हेति मानः क्रुघः पशुपते नमस्ते ।

अन्त्रासादिव्यां शाखां विचूनु ॥ (Atharva XII.)

7. त्वमने रुदोऽसुरो महोदिवः त्वं शधोमास्तं पृथक्कृष्णे ।

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादाः etc.; हिरण्यशृङ्गं वर्णं प्रपदे
तीर्थे मे देहि याचितः ॥

तवेऽमे पञ्च पशुयो विभक्ता गावो अधा पुरुषा अजावयः ॥

In the Atharva⁸, the Vṛत्यa book described the Vṛत्यa as the supreme Brahman. Chanda, Whitney, Bloomfield, Roth and others have come to the conclusion that because in the later Dharmasāstras the Vṛत्यa is described as an out-sider, a man of mixed origin and of peculiar dress and habits, he represents a civilisation alien to the Āryans. But before endorsing such a conclusion we should note that the deity of this book (Atharva XV) is adhyātmaka and no Rsi is mentioned as the seer. Further, as Whitney pointed out the Cūlikā Upaniṣad says that the Brahmacārin, Skambha, Palita and Vṛत्यa are all forms of Brahman. We cannot therefore assert that Brahmacarya and Sannyāsa were alien conceptions⁹. The Vṛत्यa is specially associated with the various forms of Śiva. He stirred up Prajapati who saw in himself *suvarna* which he generated. That became One, star marked (—^o*lalāma*) ; it was Tapas, it was Satya. From it he created Prajā. He became the Great God (Mahādeva) and Isana, the sole Vṛत्यa and took up Indra's bow (the rainbow) with its blue belly and set back to destroy enemies.

He is seated on a *vipathā* (many paths or the rude chariot), drawn by *vāha* (horses or mules ?), and driven by a charioteer Vāyu. He is surrounded by foot-men (*pariskanda*), harlots, Māgadhas, and fore-runners. He wears a garment, a turban, two *pravartas* (round ornaments), long hair and holds a goad (*pratoda*). His amulet (*mangī*) is the *halmafi*.

The Vṛत्यa stood erect and therefore the gods provided him with an *āsandī*. It has four feet, and lengthwise and cross pieces and cords like a charpoy. On it were placed an *āstarana* (a coverlet),

8. Whitney and Lanman, *Atharva Vēda* (Harvard), Caland, *Pancha Vimśā Brahmanas* XVII, p. 454. *Bib. Ind.* (See also Note 2 to follow).

9. For *yoga* in Rg Vēda :—

येषो योगे तवस्तरं बाजे बाजे हवामहे । सखाय इन्द्रमृतं ॥

(1-6-30-8)

यस्माद्वते न सिद्धति यज्ञो विष्वितश्चन । सधीनां योगमित्वति ॥

(1-5-19-8)

upabarhana (pillow ?) *upāraya* (support) and a seat.¹⁰ He ascended it, surrounded by the Gods as footmen, messengers (*prahāyya*) and all beings as the *upasads* (waiters?).

In the fifth *paryāya* which is *Rudradēvatākā*, it is said that his attendants were the divine archers Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādēva and Lātā. A knowledge of this will protect a man and his cattle from the attacks of tigers and other wild animals. (*The Auskrāmanikā* adds—*hinasti tyāghrūdīshvava gantavyah*).

The *Vrātya* must be honoured by the king and the Brāhmaṇa house-holder. This indicates that he was *parirājaka* and therefore superior even to the *grhastha* Brāhmaṇa. That there were imitators who called themselves monks is indicated in VI-13-6. These, bearing a Brāhmaṇa name only, were perhaps of non-Brāhmaṇa origin who assumed monkish dress.

Vrātya is connected with *Vrata* and *Vrāta*, the first indicating the observation of penance and ritual and the second being of an institutional character. It is said (*Atharva* VIII and IX *Paryāyas* of Book XV), that he moved towards the *Vīśa* and was followed by the assembly, gathering, army, strong drink and kinsmen.

Some of these characteristics are found in the three-faced deity on the seals. He is seated on an *āsandī* whose legs seem to terminate as bull legs, perhaps to indicate motion. He wears an elaborate turban(?) (*ushīṣa*) and horns. The word *usheṣīṣa* is perhaps connected with *uksha* (a bull). The pendant on his chest is perhaps the amulet *kalmali* and the round ornaments

10. See also the description of the royal throne with threads (*At. Br.* VIII-12).

The *āsandī* is also mentioned as a kind of throne in the bridal hymn (XIV-2-65) and in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII-5-6-12). Whitney conjectured it to be a lounging chair or bed. It had a cushion (*upādhāna*) and *upatīkṣana* (coverlet). *Digha Nikaya* (II-23) with Buddhaghōṣha's commentary, says it was used to carry corpses as a bier by four bearers. Hāla mentions *āsandī* as a *khaṭva* or *paryankīṭa* (cot or palanquin). The *Pancha Vimśa* (V-5-1) has *āsandī* equal to talpa of *Tai*. *Br.* (I-2-6-5.)

*pravarias*¹¹. The prominent *membrum virile* perhaps indicates the text "he stirred up Prajāpati". The animals around the figure—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, buffalo and deer are wild animals. Probably, apart from the deer which is perhaps the vehicle, the purpose of the seal is to invoke the protection of the Vrātya as Śarva, Bhava, and Isāna on the road (of the bride on her journey to her husband's house) or on the path to heaven (*Atharva* XV-5).

The deity, though not so probably, may be Tvāshṭra Trisiras Visvarūpa as the "fashioner". His three heads were struck off, one became the hazel-cock (*kapinjalā*), another the sparrow (*kalavinka*), the third the partridge (*tittiri*).

विश्वरूपो वैत्वाषु पुरोहितो देवनामासोत् । स्वर्णीयः अमुराणम् ।

तस्य त्रीणि श्रीर्षण्यासन् । सोमग्रानं सुरापानं अज्ञादनम् ॥

(*Tait. Sam.* II-5-1.)

Agni is also called three-faced but his vehicle is Avi (ram) or Aja (goat) and not an antelope. He is also two-headed and with four horns (*chatvāri ṣṛmgū...dvē sirshē*).

Phallic emblems.—The *linga* and the ring-stones are supposed to be fertility emblems. The pedestals with trefoil pattern on them are taken by Mackay to be the base of the *linga*. Two large cones at Mohenjo Daro are taken to be *lingas*. M. S. Vats reports that at Harappa in Stratum III (6'-5") six *lingas* with shell ornaments, a unicorn seal, five stone pestles, stone palette, and a block of chalcedony were found in a jar. The biggest specimen, 17.5 inches tall and 9 inches in diameter was found in the highest levels. Another *linga* sixteen inches high was found in the fourth stratum. Many conical baetyls were found with the *yoni* indicated round the body by broad bands upto two-fifths of the *linga*. The

II. The *Altareya Brahmana* says that the serpent sage *Arbuda Kadrūvēya*, introduced the *grāvūstus*, who praised wearing a turban and with eyes tied up. The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVIII-1-2) mentions the *ushṇisā*, *pratōda* and *vipathā*, and also a bow without arrow, a black cloth with a black hem, the black turban worn slanting and a silver *nīṣka* as characteristics of the Vrātya. For *Vipatha*, compare the sacred wagon *Apema* at Ephesus and *harmaxi* a war chariot also used as a family wagon.

Siddhānta Sārvāja of Trilōchana Śivācārya prescribes the *pīḍikā lakṣmaṇa* as *bhagukṛti*. The ring-stones have not that form nor the *gōmukha*. Moreover I do not think that any specimen of a linga affixed to the base has been discovered; always separated. The top of the linga may be in the form of a half-moon, a *tripuṣa* (gourd), egg (*asūḍa*), and umbrella (*chatra*). The *rākṣhā* at the top of the linga does not seem to be indicated in the specimens, but this is not obligatory for *ratna*, *lōha*, *bāya* and *chala* lingas. These specimens nearly one and a half foot high could not have been worn on the body. The *bāya* linga may vary in height from a *māṣa* to a *hasta*. The pīḍikas are divided into three parts of Gauri, Maṇomani and Lakṣmi as the Śakti dēvatas. If in the Indus specimens the *yoni* is indicated only upto two-fifths of the linga—this is unusual, though not improbable. As regards the conjecture that *Śiśuā dēvāḥ* refer to these Indic people, Rajwade may be right in taking *śiśu* to mean not the phallus or the tail in fig. 1-103-8, but as balls of flour out of which images were made. *Śiśuāḥ* also means limbs or bricks (*Nirukta* IV—5.)

God of vegetation and animals :—We have already referred to several deities surrounded by animals and seated in trees etc. The god seated in a tree and pointing towards a feline looking back at him can be taken as man caught in a forest and taking refuge in a tree. The scenes of hunting a buffalo or bison on a Harappa seal may be a ritualistic representation of a sacred hunt (*veggapū yātra*). As already pointed out a resurrection of a vegetation-deity is not a part of the Indus religion. The deities with a trefoil or sprigs of leaves on the heads may be vegetation deities, but another explanation will be indicated when we refer to the seals as amulets.

The fear of wild animals is clearly seen in the spells of the Atharva Tēda. Of particular interest are the seals where the tiger is depicted. The tiger is shown as trampling on a man or being fed, or being wrestled with by a naked hero with a plumed head-dress. In the Atharva (XII-1-49) the Earth goddess is invoked to drive away the wild beasts of the woods (*avayat pāku*), lions, tigers, jackals (*mlā?*), wolf, misfortune, *rksika* (bears?) and demons. The deity may be a form of Śiva who killed Vyāghrāsura but it is more likely

that the seal is an amulet. Therefore it is interesting to note that the Bṛi Atharvan is called the Tiger-slayer (*Vyāghra jambhana*).

Another god with banded arms is shown as separating (?) two humans who have uprooted trees. Probably the stealing of some sacred tree or herb is indicated.

To protect domestic animals from the attack of wild ones, a stake of *khadirā* wood is taken up and buried following the kine with this charm (IV-3).

Up from here have stridden the three,—tiger, man and wolf ; since hey ! (*hiruk*) go to the rivers, hey ! the divine forest-tree, hey ! let the foes bow !.

Both thy eyes (*akṣam*) and thy mouth (*mukha* or *hanu*) O tiger !, we grind up ; then all thy twenty claws (*nakhas*).

The tiger, first of creatures with teeth, do we grind up

Ruined (*wṛitya*) be the teeth of the beast (*mrga*).

What thou contractest (*samyama*) mayest thou not protract (*viyama*). Mayest thou protract what thou dost not contract. Indra born, Soma born art thou, an Atharvan Tiger crusher. The Paippalāda version for the first line is यत्सङ्कसो विवलसो नसं न स ।

Evidently the *Khadira* wood was associated with the Bṛi Atharvan and considered as efficacious against tigers. The Paippalāda has an extra verse.

परमेण पथा वृक्षः परेण स्तेनो र(अ)ष्टु ।

ततो व्याघ्रः परमा ॥

The flesh-eating fire is also symbolised as a tiger. "Agni kravyāda entered into this man, he has gone after the flesh eating one. Having made two tigers severally, I take him who is other than propitious" (XII-2-43). Other unlucky things like the first two upper teeth of a baby are compared to tigers. The unlucky day of Jyotiṣṭha and Mūla nakṣatras is called the Tiger day (VI-110-3).

Goddesses of fertility :—The seals and figurines show that the goddess was a popular figure but there is no clear evidence that a female deity was held to be superior to the male. No doubt the

female figurines are more numerous but since females are more prone to superstition the votive figurines are found in greater numbers. Moreover if Sakti worship was the main feature, there would at least have been more depictions of a goddess not in a subordinate capacity but as being adored by men and beasts, just as the "Siva" figure is shown. Mackay conjectures that the pottery figurines are not votive offerings deliberately mutilated, but house-hold deities which were thrown away when accidentally mutilated. But it is difficult to accept this because the figures of pregnant women, holding children etc. must have been thanks offerings. Again the "*dipa-laksmi*" type of figures could not have been the main objects of worship. Others have small spikes on the top of the head-dress, perhaps to support a dish of offerings. Others again must have been the proto-types of female demons, deliberately pierced or mutilated and painted red to simulate blood.

The head-dresses of these figurines are of interest.¹² There are few simple *ushnigas* or turbans. Some have a horned object on the head, the two hands raised to support it. It seems to have been made of some soft material. The fan-shaped head-dress with plumer-like additions to it, supported by a band round the forehead, must have been a copy of some actual head-dress for ritual. One figurine has a conical cap with a drooping top, perhaps for a tassel, resembling Hittite caps.¹³ Some females have spikes of flowers between horns and long pig tails. The votaries around the tree-goddess (?) have long pig tails.

12. Pre-Maurya terra cotta figurines (of Pataliputra, Buxar, Mathura, Basra), have the kaparda on the right, left or in front (*bura-chūḍa?*) for males. Females have kaparda in 2, 3 or 4 plaits—no four plaits as in *Rg* X-10-1. *Ūpāśa* of the band-type, horn-type, and volute-type; *kumbha* and *kurīra*—head covering with raised plait of hair and a band round the head; at Buxar; the female's under shirt of wool *Sāmalya* with nupur like drapery; also female head-dresses like a bandage round the head and crown-like. (M. Ghosh-VII Or. Con. p.707. Banerji Sastri *Pāthaka Com.* Vol.)

13. The moon goddess in proto-Greek civilisation derived from Anatolia had a horned cap resembling an oxhead. In *Bg.* VII-2-23 the kaparda on the right, characteristic of the Vasishthas is mentioned. *Rg.* VII-5-83 mentions white robed Tṛisus with braided hair. *Chaturkshaparda* (four braids) of women. (*Bg.* X-10-114.)

In the Atharva Vēda the types of head-dresses mentioned are:—

(1) The *tirīṭin*. To guard pregnant women against demons, the *Atharva Paddhati* prescribes a talisman in the form of a doll made of red and yellow mustard plants, reaching from the woman's neck to the navel. Kēśava however prescribes an amulet of white and yellow mustard (*bṛtjā*?). Atharva (Book VIII-6-7) has this spell.

"He who lies with (*nipad*) thee in sleep, having become like a brother and father,—them *cunuch* formed, tiara-decked (*tirīṭin*), let the *bṛtjā* expel from here."

In the Paippalāda version it is *kīrīṭin*. It must have been a distinctive woman's dress according to Whitney.

(2) *Kurīra*, *Kumba*, and *ōpāśa*. In the spell to make a man impotent, wrapping, crushing and burying his urine and faeces (V1-138), a plant is used.

O herb, make this man impotent, *ōpāśa*-wearing. Make him impotent, *ōpāśa* wearing, *kurīra* wearing, split his testicles.

Impotent I have made thee, the *Kurīra* and the *kumba* we set upon his head.

The commentator says that the *ōpāśa* is the mark of a woman (*strei vyanjana*) and *kurīra* is explained as *keśa* (hair). A similar passage in the *Taittiriya Samhita* (IV-1-5) has
सिनीचाली सुकपदा सुकुरीराखौपशा ।

In the *Jāvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (X-9-5) it is prescribed अत पली शिरसि कुम्ब कुरीर मध्यहृते. *Kurīra* is taken as hair tresses (*keśajāla*) and is perhaps connected with the Dravidian *Kural* (hair curls). It is also taken as a hair-net of sheep's wool. *Kumba* is its ornament (*ābharama*), a circular bamboo rim. Geldner thought that *ōpāśa*, *kurīra* and *kumba* all mean "horn".¹⁴ Perhaps the horned head-dress is implied. Whitney conjectures *kumba* as a head ornament distinctive of women. It is perhaps

14. The *ōpāśa* seems to have resembled the matting, covering the roof of a house. "The thousand-eyed net (*akṣu*) stretched out like an *ōpāśa* on the viṣṭāṇu (division line), tied down, put on, do we with prayer unfasten." (IX-3-8). *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVII p. 26.

significant that the *tiritin*, *śpaka*, *kurira* and *kumba* are mentioned in connection with eunuchs and impotent men. These figurines may have been employed in such sexual charms. In the nuptial ceremony of Sūrya (XIV.1-8) *kurira* and *śpaka* of the girl along with an ornament *pratidhi* are mentioned.

The pig-tails¹⁵ of the goddesses and the votaries have interesting analogies. Langdon points out that the figures of prisoners with pig-tail tonsure at Kish are totally different from the Sumerian or Semitic.¹⁶ "It follows that the Jemdet Nasr civilisation is the original Sumerian civilisation and came from India, bringing a script which they almost entirely abandoned in favour of the one found already in the land, the so-called Sumerian picto-graphic script." Braided hair is mentioned in the Vādas frequently. Nīriti is golden-haired (*Ath.* V.7-9). The use of healing plants for increasing and fastening the hair is advocated (VI.21). The Šami plant of great leaves is gracious to the hair (VI.30). But in Āyurveda the *kusī* fruit is called *kṛṣṇa mardhī* (injuring the hair). Šami is now identified with *Prosopis spicigera* or *Mimosa sumatra*; but these two do not seem to correspond to the Atharvan Šami of great leaves. The goddess Smivālī has broad braids. She is called the sister of the gods and mistress of the people, a thousand braided goddess, the spouse of Viṣṇu (*Ath.* VII.48. *Bg.* II 32-6-7). This also applies to Anūnati. Dishevelled locks were considered inauspicious as of comets, meteors and professional wailers at funerals.

Let not the women of dishevelled locks, let not the evil wailers wail for thee. (*Ati.* VIII.1-19.)

In the marriage ceremony, the bride is bathed and combed with an artificial buntled-toothed comb (*kankata*, *kantika*, or *hankada*). In the figurines two coils are shown as falling on the shoulders or a stiff plait hanging at the back. The seven votaries wearing a sort of kilt or skirt with long pig-tails and sprigs of plants on their heads are shown at the bottom. Another pig-tailed figure is kneeling before a pig-tailed tree-goddess (?)

15. *Excavations at Kish* Vol. I pt. 36-39

16. *J.R.A.S.* 1931 July, p. 593.

in a Pipal, along with a goat with human face. Mackay suggests the resemblance to the seven twin daughters of Bau of Sumer, Sitala and her six sisters, and to the seven mothers. In the Atharva, the *aivattha* is said to be the home of the Gandharvas and Apsarases. For the *Gāndharvī Mahāśānti*, the herb *ajasṛipiṇḍi* (*Odina pinnata*) is used in exorcising the Apsaras and Gandharvas.

Where the *aivattha*, *nyagrōdha*, great trees with crests (*sikhangdinah*)—there go ye Apsaras. (Ath. IV-37-4).

The word *sikhangdin* is taken by the commentator as peacocks. The Gandharvas are again called dancing, crested (*sikhangdin*). Probably peacocks were also the abode of the Gandharvas and peacock feathers were worn on the head. The *aivattha* and *nyagrōdha* are the homes of the Gandharvas according to the *Taittariya Samhita* (IV-2-5).

चातुर्यमाना: अधृतयेव: निषद्दनम् पर्णेव: वसति:
कृतागोभाज इत्किलासथ ॥

The Parva wood is also connected with the seven Maruts.

ब्रह्मपर्णः विद्मरुतः अस्त्रं विद्मारुतोऽधर्थः

(Tat-Sam III-5-7).

The seven figures may be the Sapta R̄sis and the ceremonial is perhaps indicated in Atharva I-31, and IV-15, where it is said that Prajapati *mahāśānti* should be performed to bring about rain, on the occasions of *upatārakas* (meteors?) inundations and floods and the obscuration of seven seers (Saptarsi Nakṣatras). A dance was performed calling upon Taduri, Khaṇvakhā, Khaimakhā, Pūrs and Maruts, perhaps like the dance of the slave girls round the Mārgaliya fire, with new water pots, calling out *Hainukhā* 3.

उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दासः मार्जलीयं परिनृत्यन्ति
पदनिष्ठतीः इदं सञ्च गायन्त्यः सञ्चुर्व देवानां परममन्त्रादम्

(Tat-Sam VII-5-10).

Inundations were to the Indus people perhaps greater dangers than drought. Mohenjo Daro seems to have suffered from at least three floods. Mackay says that the flood level at Kish is not

contemporaneous with the Ur flood level but is the contemporary of the second flood at Mohenjo Daro in the late third phase, ten feet below the datum. The Atharva, it should be noted, considers the Indus as the mightiest of the rivers, though Varanavati and Yamuna are mentioned. It may even be that the bull is the symbol of this river. In the marriage hymn (XIV.43) it is said "Vṛṣha Sindhu won the supremacy of the streams. So thou be *samrājīni* in thy husband's home." The seven Rsis were somehow connected with the floods and also comets or meteors. "The star with dishevelled hair" bringing affliction is mentioned in the hymn to the Brahmajaya (V.17.4) which is also used for averting the consequences of the fall of meteors.

Misfortunes on the village of which they say "this is a star with dishevelled hair"—as such the Brahmajaya burns up the kingdom, where has gone forth a hare (saxa) accompanied by meteors (*ulkuṣi*).

The falling "stars" seem to have been identified with the seers (*munis*) who were the friends of the gods and witnessed everything when falling from heaven, according to Rajwade.

अन्तरिक्षे पतति विश्वरूपावचाकशत् ।
मुनिर्देवस्य देवस्य सोकृत्याय सखाहितः ॥

(Rg. X-136-4)

Another fertility goddess is perhaps the seated female, perhaps the Earth goddess from whose navel a creeper is growing.¹⁷ If Rajwade is right, earthly gods called Uṁmāh are also mentioned in the Rigveda.

उरोवायंज्ञरिक्षेमदन्ति दिवोवा योचने सन्तिदेवाः ।
ऊमावाये मुधासो यजला आयंमिरे रथ्यो अम्ने अध्याः ॥

(Rg. III-6-3).

Perhaps corresponding to these earth deities is Śākumbhara or Śākadhūma. Śākadhūma is taken literally to mean dung smoke which gives birth to a kind of demons.

17. In the seal no. 304 (Excavations at Harappa—M. S. Vats), there is no clear indication that the figure is that of a woman, nor does the object attached to the stomach resemble a plant but is more like a tortoise.

Of whom the front feet are behind, the heels in front, faces in front, born of the threshing floor and dung-smoke, who are Uruṇḍas (or Aruṇḍas) and Maṭmaṭas, pot-testicled Ayāśas—we cause to disappear by *pratibodha*, O Brāhmaṇaspati! (Ath. VIII-6-15)

The Paippalāda has Śakadhūma. Again in a charm to avert the evil effects of portents like the lunar eclipse etc. the dung-balls are placed on the joints of a Brāhmaṇa who is asked "what sort of day?" The Brāhmaṇa who is the personification of Agni replies "Very favourable".¹⁸

"When the asterisms made Śakadhūma their king, they bestowed on him the auspicious day (*bhadra*) saying 'This shall be his royalty'". The Paippalāda version is:—

यदा बानं शकधूमं नष्टत्राण्यकृणुत् ।
भद्राहमसैः प्रायच्छन् ततो राष्ट्रीमजायत् ।

Bloomfield¹⁹ took Śakadhūma to be a weather-prophet. Whitney conjectures that the Milky Way, the king of nakṣtras is probably meant, and that from the dung-smoke going up a fore-cast of the weather was made.

But it is probable that Śaka and Śaka mean vegetation. The female counterpart of the earth and vegetation god is perhaps Uma, Śakambhari, A-parṇa—later the names of Gauri-Pārvatī. In Sumer Mari etc. the Goddess with an overflowing vase or plough is identified with the Inanna (later Ishtar), the queen of Eanna. She has a horned head-dress and plants are shown sprouting from her shoulders. Standing on a mountain she was perhaps the goddess of war and seated on bricks with an overflowing vase, as on the seal of the servant of Naram-Sin, she is also a goddess of fertility. At Mari the goddess is entirely naked but with a turban and in another form she holds a streaming vase with fish depicted. In India the flowing vase motif does not occur. Nor is there the

18. Even now stories are current about Brāhmaṇas who extended the left hand for receiving royal gifts. When questioned as to the appropriateness of this, the Brāhmaṇas being *dkitāgnis*, put some cow-dung cakes on their right hand and smoke and flames began to spring up.

19. Bloomfield, Hymns from the Atharva Veda, (S.B.E.)

interceding goddess bringing the devotee before the chief God. Evidently in domestic worship in India a priest as a mediator was not necessary, except perhaps in witch-craft. The Indian female figurines are never entirely nude except the two bronze dancing girls.

The Virgin :—A figure of a girl with small breasts, but with a skirt and girdles may represent the Kanya-Kumari type (*Kore*).

The Mātṛka type :—There is no figurine which can definitely be identified with the goddess as the mother. The pregnant females with children, and the right hand lifted to the mouth represent votaries rather than the principle goddess.

The Warrior-Goddess :—The proto-Indians seem to have been pacifists and there are few representations of a fighting goddess. The deities fighting with animals may have amuletic and medicinal value. A human figure with feet and tail of a bull is struggling with a horned tiger. Mackay considers the figure to be female. A woman with tiger's body, but with human forelegs and two spiral horns with a spike of flowers between them and a long pig tail may be the counter-part of Durga.

Water-Goddess :—As pointed out there is not any representation of a goddess with a flowing vase. But since the public baths and wells are so prominent and since the people depended on and also were afraid of the inundations of the Indus, some form of the water goddess must have existed. Perhaps her symbols were the fish, the tortoise, *ghariyal*, nāga and spouted vases. The snake over the heads of some figures may also have represented waters.

Dragon god :—In Mesopotamia a god on a dragon occurs frequently. The Hydra and Hercules theme reached Greece through Syria and Anatolia. The Hurrian Tishpak supported by a dragon and with a fire altar before him displaced Nin-axu as the weather god at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar). A seal at Tell Asmar has a god or worshipper, holding a kamandalu-like pot, and with a snake on his head. Behind the figure there are intertwining snakes. The Leviathan theme is also found in the Rām Sharma texts. On the Kassite seals, the winged dragon with bird-like hind legs, tail and mouth is found. The weather god Adad (?) holding

a *trisula* (triple lightning?) or a whip (*kaia*) is standing on a fire-spitting dragon or in a chariot drawn by dragons. Schott identifies the dragon with the constellation Ukatukha, assigned to Nergal of Pestilence.

Frankfort points out that the earliest symbol of the storm-god was the whip and not the thunder-bolt. The god at Baal Bek had a whip; so also Jupiter, a form of Hadad of Syria and Adad of Mesopotamia. Furlani takes the whip to be a solar symbol. The three-tongued lightning came from Syria to Mesopotamia in Hammurabi's time. In the time of Adad Nirari the whip was the symbol of lightning. Probably the whip of the goat-herds was translated. In the Iliad (11-782) the whip and the lightning are mentioned as separate emblems of Jupiter. Jupiter Heliopolitanus has a whip in his hand. Jacob Stahl thinks that the forked lightning symbol as the more original form of stylised fire. In any case the three-pronged lightning is of Syrian extraction and appeared in the period of the Amorites and first Dynasty of Babylon; until then the whip was the only symbol.²⁰

The whip was perhaps a whip of snakes or scorpions. In India the storm-gods Indra, Maruts and Rudra have the whip, the thunder-bolt and the *trisula*. The honey-whip of Asvins is mentioned.

या वा कशा मधुमती अधिना सूकृतावती ।

तथा यज्ञं मिमिक्षितम् ॥ (Tait. Sam. IV-7.)

The *trisula* of the Pauranic Siva may represent the thunder-bolt of Rudra (*hasti*) or since Rudra is a form of Agni, the flames of the three sacred fires. Dragons are of course associated with Indra and Rudra (*Vrtra*, *Ahi* and *Naga*). On the Indus seals, hooded

20. Passaninus says that in Greece Zeus was represented as a pyramid and Artemis as a column. This seems to be a reversal of the usual triangle symbol to represent a goddess and the pillar to represent the god. At Byblos and in Mesopotamia many representations of a pyramid on the back of a bull are found. The pyramid originally represented the Hittite god on a bull (Sandan) whose descendant is Zeus Dolichenos. In the Phrygian mysteries "the Bull is the father of the serpent and the serpent the father of the Bull". (Rawlsay).

serpents and intertwined snakes are found. A lozenge-shaped seal at Harappa has a falcon between two snakes. The enmity between the snakes and eagles is also indicated in the Myth of Etana. On a copper tablet of Mohenjo-Daro an animal with horns and elephant-trunk has a tail ending like a snake. On the whole, we can say that the Nāga was not worshipped separately. The snake-symbol had only an amuletic purpose. No images of snakes apart from amulets have been found.

The Cauldron, the snake coil and hydra occur as very early themes in Mesopotamia. The snake coil is found on a **Jemdet Nasr seal**. The copulating vipers represent Ningiszida. The snake coil has sometimes two heads or a head and a tail. At Fara there is a tortoise at the snake's head. In the Boghaz-Keui monuments, the coils of Vṛtra are shown. In Babylonia the worship of animals was unknown. But at Khafaje a bull in a temple shows Indian influence. Similarly at Khafaje and Tell Asmar (*III. L. News*: Sep. 5. 1936) pots placed on the floor, and decorated with snakes, tortoises and scorpions were discovered. Frankfort conjectures that living snakes were kept and fed with birds and small animals. A saucer for water was also placed inside the pots. If living snakes were worshipped in the Indus Valley they may have been kept in the so-called cages of pottery or in the perforated vessels. But no remains of snakes in the pots have been discovered. We are in doubt as to whether even the ant-hill was then worshipped.

The bull or buffalo-headed goddess :—One seal at Harappa (Vats. No. 319) has a buffalo-headed goddess alone. We have already referred to a similar bull-headed goddess the head, tail and legs of the bovine subduing a tiger (?) with two leathery horns, besides an acacia (?). In the seal of Lugaland and his wife Bharantamata, a similar goddess but with one curling horn and pig-tail is attacking a lion which has seized a bull man (bearded), by the fore-leg while an eagle (Imdugud) is shown hovering above. The story of Enkidu is not applicable. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Enkidu is described as covered with hair in long tresses like a woman and the garb of Sumukan, the lord of cattle. He hunted the lions raiding the sheep-folds and catching jackals. He was the warden of the sheep-folds. His name means the lord of the place of abundant recreative

force. He was at first hardly human and only after intercourse with the hetaera he became human. Gilgamesh and Enkidu wrestled with each other and became friends. They kill an Elamite demon and the Bull of Heaven sent by Ishtar. Enkidu dies and Gilgamesh goes in search of the plant of life. Utanapishtim narrates the story of the Flood. Gilgamesh meets Enkidu in the under-world and is told of its desolation. Even in Mesopotamia there is no seal connected with the epic by an inscription. The human-headed bull has a beard and is of the aurochs type with one horn and girth at Fara. The bull-man may be twin and in the Early Dynastic period he is exclusively a slayer of lions. In the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, he has a horned crown. Terracotta figurines of the bearded naked hero and the Bull-man were called *Talim* (Twins or companions), to be buried in the corners of court-yards to protect the house from evil influences. Therefore there is no parallel with the Indian Bull-headed goddess. Mackay suspects that the horned bull masks found at Mohenjo Daro were suspended in the houses to avert ill-luck, like the metal masks of Ur, Kish and Susa.

Goddess with Doves :—A horned female figurine at Mohenjo Daro has four birds, probably doves, on the head.²¹ At Harappa the dove models are invariably whistle "ghuggu" of modern Punjab. There is also the flying dove which may be amuletic. The dove-goddess naturally invites comparison with Crete and Mesopotamia. In the Akkadian ritual, the burning up of Quingu and cutting up of Tiamat are indicated by cutting the throat of a sheep and placing it in an oven and by killing a pigeon. Evidently Tiamat or female Chaos was represented by a pigeon. In India also the dove was considered to be a bird of ill-omen, the messenger of perdition (Nirṛti). In the Rg Veda (X-165) and Atharva (VI—27, 28, 29), we have spells against birds of ill-omen.

Seeking what, O Gods! the sent dove, the messenger of Nirṛti hath come hither, we remove.

Propitious be the sent dove and hawk? (*sukuna*)

21. A female figurine in the Patna Museum has three holes on the head, probably for inserting a head-dress (?)

Let not the dove injure us.

The Rg Veda has:—

शु नो गोमध्यं पुरुषेभ्यश्चास्तु मानोहिसीद् इह देवा: कपोतः ॥

With this Rg drive away the dove; revelling in food, we lead the cow about breaking up the tracks, hard to go.

(A cow and fire are taken three times round the house. परोमेषामनेषत् पर्यन्तमहृष्ट ऋg. X—165-5.)

The owl uttering, the dove making track at the fire; in Yama's house they may look upon thee as sapless and empty (अभृक).

Atharva VII—66 is also a charm against black-birds (*Kṛṣṇa iakuni*) of evil omen.

The Pārvatas²² were an alien people who were killed by Sarasvati (Rg. VI-61-2). Pārvata occurs also as the name of a king, the enemy of the Aryas (Rg. VIII-10-100-6).

पर्वेणात् सवनेषु प्रवाच्याया चकर्थमघवलिन्दमन्वत् ।

परावते यस्पुरुसंभृतं वस्यावृणाः शुरभाय चक्षिबन्धये ॥

In the Brhaddēvatā (X-57-59) it is said that Subandhu was the priest of king Asmāti of the Ikṣvāku race and was discarded. Bandhu and others of the Atri clan were displaced by Kirāta and Ākuli who became two pigeons (*kaphōta*) and harassed the Gaupayanas by their yōga. Subandhu was however restored by the

22. Hillebrandt identified Siraba's *Parowetai* with the Pārvatas. The Pārvatas of the Vēdas were not hostile to the Aryas, whereas the Pārvatas were. Oppert connects the Brahuis with Parasa or Parada of the Purāṇas and with Pārvatas of the Tamil country, Paravaris in Mahārāshtra and the Parahē in Palamum. He also assumed that the Brahuis or Paratas to be the same as the Bharatas. The Brahuis are assumed to be Dravidians, Scythians, Tartars, Arabs, Iranians, etc. according to the fancies of the scholars. They are also connected with the Jangals or Jats. Ba-rohi is supposed to mean a hill in Persian and therefore the Brahuis were hill-men. Their own traditions assert that they came from Aleppo in two clans Sagdi (Sagtae of the Greeks) and Sags (Śaka). The linguistic resemblance to Dravidian is perhaps due to late maritime contact. There seems to be no doubt as to their foreign origin racially.

Gaupāyanas and again became the priest of Asmāti. Therefore the *pārvanta* and *kapōta* were unlucky birds.

In Crete²³ the worship of the Mother goddess²⁴ was connected with snakes and doves. Pendlebury thinks that living snakes were kept in tubular vessels, bowls, handleless jugs, etc. A low tripod table had a ring in the centre, with four grooves along the edge for a snake-party. A pierced vessel like a honey-comb with a snake crawling on it and two small jugs with snakes on them show the prevalence of the worship of the living snake apart from the snakes held in the hands of the goddess. She also holds a dove in her palm and a man is bringing her a dove for sacrifice. Two votaries also hold snakes. On one of the seals a snake surrounds a cat *sejant gardant*. The dove is also found on cult objects. The snake as the enemy of the dove may represent the power of the under-world as against the symbol of the over-world or atmosphere. But the Indus figurine seems to be amuletic, possibly representing some aspect of Nigiti or Yama.

Inanimate symbols :—Among the symbolical cult-objects the peculiar vessel in front of the bulls and goats has attracted much attention. Friederichs takes the lower portion to be a crib and the upper a stable rack and the lines as representing fodder. Marshall thinks it is an incense-burner and the lines as flames. If it is a fire-holder it probably represents the ceremony akin to leading a cow and the fire three times around the house to break the evil influence of ill-omened birds. Mackay points out that by itself it is carried in procession and occurs separately on the amulets. It is not a bird-cage, and it is also doubtful if it is made of reeds—the lines and pellets being mere decorations. I have observed that the object is represented with at least twenty variations. The lower vessel is sometimes plain, knobbed, with

23. Pendlebury. *Archaeology of Crete*.

24. The Cretan Earth goddess is now conjectured to be De-or Ge-māter taken over by the Greeks and called Cybebe or Cybele in Phrygia. In the Greek pantheon Gaia or Ge had a daughter Pheia (Cybele, Hecate, Artemis) wife and sister of Cronos. Many breasted Artemi's (or Diana) is the "Lady of the wild Creatures". To Cronos and Rhea were born Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus.

a projecting base, ornamented with wavy horizontal lines. The upper vessel is square, rectangular, semi-circular, in three, four, five compartments, with a knob at the top, ornamented with dots, vertical lines, zigzags etc. The base of the upper vessel has a tubular form connecting it with the lower. It is highly probable that this vessel is some sort of filter for a ritual drink. The so-called flames may be some sacred herbs like the *sōma*. The two vessels were thus affixed and the drink filtered through from the upper to the lower.²⁵ In the Atharva (IX.4) there is an obscure hymn glorifying the bull.

A male (*pramūn*) yet pregnant, big (*sthavira*), rich in milk, the Bull bears a *trunk* (*Kabandha*) of *Vāsu* (good ?); him sacrificed to Indra, let Agni carry by the God-travelled roads (*dēvayāna*).

His *Kṛōḍa* (breast ?) was Jāmaśamsas (the imprecation of sisters ?); his vessel ? (obscure) was maintained as *Sōma*'s. When the gods distributed the Bull,

Of reddish form, *nābhasa* (clouded ?) vigor giving, the vehemance of Indra, all formed, he hath come to us, assigning to us life and progeny; with abundances of wealth, let him attach himself to us. (Paippalāda—प्रजामसाभ्यं दधतो गर्विच दीर्घयुत्वाय शतशारदाय)

Here in this stall, O Closeness (*upaparichana*) be thou close unto us; unto us what seed the bull has; unto us Indra, thy heroism.

(cf. *kg.* IV.28.8; *Tai. Br.* II.8.8. उपेद्ध उपपर्चने आसु गोवृपृष्ठचताम्.)

This object therefore was a sacred vessel and used in many types of sacrifices. Vats points out that even before it was associated with the "Unicorn" it was worshipped. On the tiny rectangular seals found below seventeen feet, (Nos. 441, 443, 440) this object occurs. Therefore it cannot be a form of the *Nandi Kōṇa* (as the tall pole decorated with bands of brass and an image of Nandin taken in front of the Vira Śaiva processions in the Karnatakā, is called in

25. *Sōma* juice however seems to have been filtered through a woollen cloth. On a cylinder seal from Byblos a deity on an animal is facing a bull which bears a pyramid on its back. Between the two there is a curious vessel. (Contentau, *La civilisation Phénicienne* fig. 18). Also Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*, p. 119.

Kannada). Symbolically it may also have represented earth and heaven, plants growing from the lower, the canopy-like upper part representing the sky, pouring down rain, represented by the dots and wavy lines. In IX-3-20 one "nest" pressed upon another nest is described, "A nest (*skataya*) upon a nest, a Kōśa pressed together in a Kōśa, there a mortal is born (*vijñā*) from whom all is generated (*prajā*)."¹⁴

The *troughs* in front of some of the animals had a ritual significance. Friederichs takes its absence before the Zebras as a sign of domestication. The manger before the buffalo, tiger, rhino, etc. show that they may not be domesticated. But Vats thinks that it means merely offering of food and is no indication of domestication or non-domestication. The troughs are of several forms. Usually the trough has sides curving outward at the top. On one seal, probably astrological, the trough is like a circle with radiating petals, perhaps made of basketry and representing the Sun. We know that in the Vedic sacrifices the animals before being killed were ritually fed and given water to drink. (अपष्ट्रिति). I have elsewhere pointed out that the animals on the seals perhaps represent creatures sacrificed to various gods to attain various ends. In the *Taittiriya Samhita* (V-5-11) says that the boar is to be offered to Indra, a deer to Yama, a *gayal* or a tiger to Vṛṣa, to Varuṇa a black deer or a *gura* (*Bos Gavaens*), a monkey to a Rāja, a worm to Nilangū (snake), a gazelle (*Kulunga*) to Sōma, a *siminmāra* (crocodile or *gharial*) to Sindhu (ocean), an elephant for the Snowy Mountains (Himayant), a *puruṣāṁṛga* to the moon, a dappled deer to Day, a *tittiri* or *ruru* to Rudra, a lion, *nakula* and tiger, to Indra, a *rhinoceros* to Kāma, a ram for Varuṇa, a horse, tūpāra and *gayal* (*gōmṛga*) for Prajāpati, a *Kapōta* to Samvatsara; a humped bull for Indra, bulls with dew-laps (*adhitodha karyūḥ*) to Viṣṇu, three dew-lapped (?) goats to Indrāṇi, (V-6.) Five victims Aśva, Vṛṣṇa, Raabha, Basta and Purusa are also mentioned (V-7-10).

To Indra in war a beast with forward-bent horns, and a spot on the forehead, for that is the shape of the thunder-bolt.

इन्द्रायवृत्तुरे ललाम प्राशृङ्गमालमेत गतश्चीः प्रतिष्ठा कामः ॥

इन्द्राय वज्रिणे ललाम प्राशृङ्गमालमेत

यमलं राज्यायसंतं राज्यंननुपथमेत् ॥

इन्द्रमेव वज्रिणे स्वेनभागवेन उपधावति ।

सः एकासौ वज्रं पद्यच्छ्रुतं । सप्तर्वेन वज्रः मूर्त्यै इन्द्रे उपैन राज्ये

मर्मात ललामः प्राशृङ्गो भवतिष्टतद्वज्रास्य स्वरूपम् ।

A cow should be sacrificed to Viṣṇu and a humped bull to Indra. वैष्णवारुणी वशं इन्द्रं उक्षाणम्. To obtain food a dappled animal (*prēni*) must be offered to Maruts, a spotted deer to Savitṛ for gain, a beast of many forms (*bahurūpam*) to Viśvādāvāḥ, in witch-craft a red cow (*īshita*) to Rudra, a Vāmana *pānu* to Viṣṇu (वैष्णव वामनमालमेत), a gayal to Vayu (11-6 ff.).

All these animals are found on the seals. The cow however is absent because though occasionally as in the funeral ceremonies it was sacrificed in the Vedic period, it was already recognised as *aghnīyī*. In the Atharva (V-18, 19) it is called *Timīta* poison. "The cow slain pulled down the Vaitahavyas who cooked the last she-goat of Kēsara prābandhas." "The hundred and one Janatas perished for injuring the Brahman progeny". The Srenjayas and Vaitahavyas perished for injuring Bhṛgu and *brahma gavi*. "Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-mouthing, two-tongued, she shakes down the kingdom of the Brāhmaṇa reviler." The absence of the cow cannot be taken as indicating a non-Aryan civilisation, for the living cow only has been worshipped throughout Indian history and no images of it as of the b II, are adored. If the seals are taken to be amulets, it is possible that the animals thereon were supposed to bestow the same virtues as indicated in the *Taittiriya Samhitā*—the bull for virility of Indra, the rhinoceros for Kāma etc.

Trees :—The Aśvattha, acacia, nim, palm, date, banana, small plant like *tulasi* grown in a bowl—can be identified in the seals. The bamboo reeds and lotus pods along with trees occur on

pottery, and can also be inferred from the charcoal remnants. Ears of wheat and barley are shown. Among the fruits and vegetables peas and sesamum are found at Harappa but not at Mohenjo Daro. Dates, melons, lemon leaf, pomegranates, coconuts and lotus fruit were known. Rice so familiar to the Dravidians does not seem to be known in the Indus civilisation. But the cocoanut is interesting because in South India it is called the fruit of the south (*tenkāy*) and its Sanskrit name *nālikēra* or *nārikēla* may have been of non-Āryan origin.

The Aśvattha as already indicated was the abode of various gods like Maruts, Rudra, the Gandharvas and Apsaras. Its leaves are used in various charms; so also the parna-sāmī, deodar, nyagrōdha etc. That tree worship is a characteristic of non-Āryan culture is a statement without foundation. There is ample literary evidence to show that several trees were worshipped by the Vedic people. The nim tree, apart from its medicinal quality, is sacred to the so-called Dravidian Mother goddesses. But not a single mother-goddess figurine has been found with a sprig of neem leaves as ornament.

One seal at Harappa shows an acacia within a railing. If the tree can be identified with *Acacia catechu* or *Punis deodara*, it is interesting to note that this tree is supposed to confer long life and its name dēva-dhru means a tree of the gods. In Atharva (VIII-2) an amulet of deodar is prescribed to obtain long life, to avert false accusation and in the tonsure ceremony. "The remedy *Pūtudru* is the body of Agni, transporter (p̄rayispa) demon-slayer, expelling diseases, and killing rivals." At Khafaje a terra-cotta plaque shows "a palm tree to which strips of cloth are tied, a custom still observed by some Arabs and by the Yezidis in northern Iraq. The divine nature of the tree is indicated by the horned crown with which it is capped. The bearded figure next to it is embracing the tree with one arm and is perhaps a god thought to dwell therein or of whom the tree in some other way was considered to be a manifestation (III. L. News : 5th September, 1936.) The tree is within an ornamental railing and above the whole group there is a flower or star. Frankfort does not believe in the explanation of artificial pollination. He accepts

the existence of tree worship. The palm tree (*kadambā*?) is of course sacred to Kali (who is *kūdambā vana rūśinī*) and to Madinukēvara (as at Banavasi). It is a common custom in India also to tie pieces of cloth or coloured strings to trees. In the *upanayana*, the *pāñca brahma danda* is deposited in an Asvattha. The Atharva Vēda (VIII—8) says that in the spells to conquer enemy armies, to the north of the fire, a branch of red Asvattha is set up and tied with red and blue threads. As regards the other plants and herbs we shall discuss them when we consider the seals as amulets and their significance in funeral ceremonies.

The anchor was perhaps another cult object as it figures on a miniature seal at Harappa. It seems to have two prongs and the handle seems to be oval-shaped. It has some resemblance to a pick-axe. Perhaps the anchor was worshipped by the sailors and sea-farers for ships are scratched upon pottery-sherds.

The axe with the single blade may also have been a cult object. In the Atharva (VII-45) an interesting remedy against jealousy is given. Water in which a heated axe had been dipped, (*parashū phūṇja*) was given to drink. There is here a reference to the Indus people:

"From a people belonging to all peoples, away from the river Sindhu²⁶ brought hither, from afar I think thee brought up a remedy, viz. jealousy."

A similar remedy is prescribed for *tarkman* (Atharva I-25.). It (?) is addressed as the god of the yellow one (jaundice?), *hr̥dru* by name. This mysterious word is said to mean a ram. Its variants are *hudu*, *kr̥idru*, *kr̥mdu*, *hūdu*, *rōdu*, *rūdu*. Henry compares it with the Assyrian *hurušu*, the Hebrew *harāš*, the proto-Semitic *harūḍu* meaning gold. Halevy thinks it is *chloros*, the greenish yellow Vaidūrya or beryl. But Indian commentators take the word to mean a "ram" and perhaps it is connected with the goat, (*āgha* in Dravidian, *āṅguka* in Vedic Sanskrit). The double-axe sometimes occurs as a geometrical pattern. Whether it represents the vajra or the

26. Homer mentions that the language of the gods was different from that of men. The gods called a river Xanthos and men Scamandros. Xanthos is probably connected with Sindhu.

sign of mithuna, and has any connection with the double-axe cult of Egypt and Crete, it is not possible to say. In any case, in the Indus civilisation the double-axe was of less importance, as indicated by the absence of any clear model.

"*Mace-heads*":—The so-called mace-heads at Mohenjo Daro are mostly lentoids and at Harappa round or pear-shaped. At Tell Agrab mace-heads of lime-stones, marble, alabaster, serpentine are found in the Early Dynastic period. These stones were probably imported from Iran into Mesopotamia. One in the shape of a hammer-axe is rare in Mesopotamia but common in pre-historic Europe and also in the so-called treasure of Priam at Troy. Frankfort thinks that the mace-heads probably served as arms for the temple guard. But as we are not sure that there was a highly developed organisation in India, the mace-heads might have been cult-objects and used in the worship of fertility gods. If they were for secular purposes the civic authorities might have used them mounted on wands of authority. At Khafaje two mace-heads used in ceremonies show two lions facing opposite ways and one has got an inscription. (*Ill. L. News*: July 22, 1933).

Beads :—Beads, even now called "manis" were meant not merely for ornaments but as amulets. Manis of various kinds are mentioned in the Atharva Vēda. In Hindu marriage ceremonies, beads and gold ornaments shaped like breasts²⁷ are strung together and worn. The *bhasingas*, made of pith in the shape of female and male organs and ornamented with tinsel are tied on the foreheads of the bridegroom and the bride respectively. The beads of black glass are now held to be (along with bangles), indispensable to married women. Little children when dead are buried with a few beads in their mouths. The custom of sowing the house-site with beads was prevalent at Brak in Syria. More than 40,000 beads were cast into the soil to celebrate the foundation of the tower platform. At Tell Agrab the beads consisted of lozenges of blue and white lime-stone pierced on all four sides. Chanhu-Daro of course was perhaps the greatest manufacturing

27. Compare the beads of mammoth-ivory shaped like female breasts and strung into a necklace in Moravia. (*Ill. L. News*: March 25th, 1939).

centre. Agate, carnelian, steatite etc. were used and the beads were so tiny that thirty-four made an inch. "How they were shaped and even more how they were fixed is at present quite incomprehensible".

The *sātagrāma* (ammonite) seems to have been another cult-object; the design is found on pottery and Mackay thinks that it was also worshipped: whether it was supposed to be the abode of Viṣṇu, as in modern Hinduism, there is no clear evidence. The conch (*sankha*) is found and when made of pottery as at Chanhu Daro resembles the modern *sankha* used in daily worship by Brahmanas, to pour water on the idols. The *sātagrāma*, *sankha*, a plant in a pot (probably the holy basil *tulasi*) the eagle with snakes, and the sun-wheel designs (*cakra*) may point to a type of proto-Vaisnavism, if such a conclusion is not too far-fetched. There is nothing inherently improbable in the existence of a proto-Vaisnavism along with proto-Śaivism; for the later history of these two mono-theistic sects shows the same stages of development, philosophy and ritual practices. The torso of an young man in a dancing posture discovered at Harappa is taken to represent a dancing god. Both Nataraja and Kṛṣṇa are dancing gods. In some sculptures Kṛṣṇa is represented in the same posture as Natarāja.

Other cult-objects are the kidney shaped "seals" and knobbed pottery, which have close resemblances in Khafaje, Ishchali and Tell Agrab in Mesopotamia, Brak and Chagar Bazaar in Syria.

(To be concluded)

THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS AND THE MAHĀSAṄGHIKAS IN THE KUŚĀNA PERIOD

BY BAIJ NATH PURI

THE epigraphic evidence bears testimony to the existence of two rival schools of Buddhism namely the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas, in the Kuśāna period. These schools had their centres not only in India but also abroad¹, and each aimed at turning down the other. From the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription² of the time of Śodasa we learn that the Mahāsaṅghika school had a strong hold at Mathurā. It is stated in that inscription that a Sarvāstivādin teacher named Budhila was imported from Nagara in the Jelalabad district to counteract the truth expounded by the Mahāsaṅghikas. From this record two conclusions may be inferred. Firstly that the Mahāsaṅghikas had a very strong hold at Mathurā slightly before the time of the Kuśānas, and as such the Sarvāstivādins had to import a specialist from their head-quarters. Secondly, in pursuance of the object for which Budhila was imported, the school of the Sarvāstivādins which was supposed to be in existence was reinforced by the new arrival. Thus before the time of Kuśāpas there were already in existence the two rival schools. Their existence in the Kuśāna period is testified to by a number of epigraphic records both in Brāhmī and in Kharoshī belonging to that period. Before going into a discussion it is better to take note of these records and we have the following records regarding the Sarvāstivādins.

The Kapiṣka Casket inscription³ of the first year records the

1. Cf. The kurram inscription of the king Kaniṣka and the Wardhak Inscription of King Huvīṣka. Sten Konow corpus Vol. II, p. 155-165.
2. Sten Konow: Corpus Indicarum Vol. II, p. 30 ff.
3. Ibid p. 137.

gift of a casket by dasa Agīśala in Kāpiśka's Vihāra and Mahīśena's Sanghārāma in the possession (*burrigrāhe*) of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.

The Zeda inscription⁴ of the eleventh year records the gift of Hīpea Dhīa for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda school in honour of Kṣatrapa Liaka. Zeda is in the Yusufzai district near Qundi.

The Kurram inscription⁵ of the twentieth year records the establishment of the relic of lord Śākyamuni in the new Vibāra in the possession of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. It is not certain where the copper stupa on which the inscription is inscribed was actually found. Kurram is a Tehsil in the Peshawar district.

Among the Brāhma records the Sahet Mahet inscription⁶ of the time of King Kāpiśka records the dedication of a Bodhisattva, an umbrella, and a stick as a gift of monk Bala, a well read person of the Tripitakas. They were dedicated at the place where the Lord (i.e. Buddha) used to walk in the Kosambakuti, as the property of the teacher of the Sarvāstivādins.

The Anyor Bodhisattva inscription⁷ obtained from a shrine known as Galatesvar Maḥadeo Māṭh near Katrā in Mathurā where it was inserted in a wall, records the dedication of the Bodhisattva for the welfare of the Sarvāstivādins. The Inscription is undated.

These are the only Kuśāpa inscriptions which record dedications for the increase and welfare of the Sarvāstivādins. They also mention the names of the Vihāras and Sanghārāmas in possession of the Sarvāstivādins. The sect of the Mahāsaṅghikas who were equally strong is found in the following records:—

The Wardhak inscription⁸ records the establishment of Lord Śākyamuni's relic in the Vagramarega Vihāra which was in the possession of the Mahāsaṅghika teachers. Vagramarega appears to be an Iranian word. The place Wardhak is situated about thirty miles to the west of Kabul.

4. Stein Konow: Corpus Indicarum Vol. II, p. 142.

5. Ibid. p. 155.

6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 180.

7. Vogel: Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum No. A 66.

8. Stein Konow: Corpus Indicarum Vol. II, p. 165.

Among the Brāhmī records, the earliest is the Bodhisattva Image Pedestal Inscription⁹ dated in the tenth year of King Kapiśka. This Bodhisattva image was dedicated by the monk Nāgadatta, an inmate of the Vihāra to the Krauṣṭikiya monastery, in the (Gbandha) Kuṭī of his own shrine in the possession of the teachers of the Mahāsāṅghika order.

The Palikhēra stone Bowl Inscription¹⁰ records the dedication for the Mahāsāṅghika teachers. A Buddhist pedestal Inscription¹¹ from Mathurā city records the dedication of the pedestal in the Āpanaka Vihāra in the possession of the Mahāsāṅghika monks.

There is yet another inscription¹² dated in the ninety-first year and recovered from the debris of a home in Matugali lane. It records the erection of something in a monastery designated as Cūtaka-Vihāra (mango monastery). This pious act was executed for the increase of the religious piety and strength of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

Besides these two important schools of Buddhism, Mathurā was also the centre of activity of the Dharmaguptikas, another important sect of Buddhists. There is an inscription¹³ on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image which was established by Pusika Nāgapriya in the sanctuary of her own chaitya in the possession of the Dharmaguptaka teachers.

Thus from a perusal of these records it would appear that in the Kuṣāṇa period the Sarvāstivādins had their centres at Taxila, Kurram (Peshawar district), Zeda in the Yusufzai district, Sravasti, and Mathurā. This school had not declined till the fifty-first year the time of the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription. The Mahāsāṅghikas, on the other hand had their centres at Wardak (near Kabul) and at different places in the Mathurā district. The earliest record of the Mahāsāṅghikas is dated in the tenth year of the King Kaniṣka and the latest is dated in the ninety-first year. The Dharmaguptikas also existed in the Kuṣāṇa period. Further the

9. Mathurā Museum Sculpture No 2740; U. P. H. S. July 1939 p. 23 No. XIII.

10. Ibid No. 662; ibid No. XI

11. Ibid No. 1612; ibid No. XII.

12. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, No. 9. (VII) p. 69.

13. U. P. H. S. July 1939, p. 24, No. XIV,

Sarvāstivādins had Vihāras as well as Saṅghārāmas. At Taxila they had Kaniska's Vihāra and Mahāsenā's Saṅghārāma. The Mahāsanghikas had Vihāras at Mathurā as is evident from their inscription namely the Kraushṭikīya Vihāra, the Āpanaka Vihāra and the Cutaka Vihāra¹⁴. It is not known whether the Mahāsanghikas had any Saṅghārāma.

Now it becomes necessary to discuss two important questions concerning these two Buddhist orders, firstly the distinction between a Vihāra and a Saṅghārāma and secondly the relation of King Kaniska with the Sarvāstivādins.

The term vihāra, according to Kern¹⁵, does not only denote a monastery but frequently also a temple. This is testified to by a striking instance afforded by a passage in Yuan Chwan's travels¹⁶. The term vihāra is applied to a place where worship is conducted while the most common term for a monastery is Saṅghārāma. Every great monastery had a vihāra or temple annexed to it: at Sarnath and Nalanda such state of things did exist¹⁷.

Thus it would appear that a vihāra, though a part of a Saṅghārāma, was something different from it. It was a place where worship was conducted. Sarvāstivādins had Mahāsenā's Saṅghārāma at Taxila and this Saṅghārāma had Kaniska's Vihāra. The question therefore naturally arises, was Kaniska a Sarvāstivādin?

The Sarvāstivādins were offshoots of the Mahīśāsakas who in their turn were offshoots of the Theravāda school. A broad distinction can be made between the Theravāda and its offshoots, and the Mahāsanghikas or Ācāryavāda schism with its sub-division. The orthodox Theravāda in course of time produced the Mahīśāsakas and the Vajjiputtakas. The school of the Mahīśāsakas branched off again into the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptikas¹⁸. Therefore the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsanghikas were two antagonistic schools of Buddhism.

14. U. P. H. S. 1939 July p. 24.

15. Manual of Indian Buddhism p. 81.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid p. 111.

According to the traditional evidence furnished by Yuan Chwang, King Kaniṣka evinced interest to learn the truths of Buddhism, but he was perplexed by the variant interpretations given by the two different schools namely the Mahāsanghikas and the Sarvāstivādins who had a strong hold at Kashmir.¹⁹ In concert with the head of the Buddhist church Parāya, the king, convened a council with a view to record the different interpretations. In the council the Sarvāstivādins formed a majority. The President of the council Vasumitrā was also a Sarvāstivādin. Since the Sarvāstivādins formed a majority naturally their views alone counted. It, therefore, naturally followed that the accepted versions in most cases were those of the Sarvāstivādins. But what was the reason for this preference to the Sarvāstivādins?

Now it is clear from the Taxila casket inscription of the first year²⁰ that King Kaniṣka had a vihāra named after him in Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma in possession of the Sarvāstivādin school. This would naturally show that Kaniṣka had leaned towards the Sarvāstivādins even earlier than his accession, since the inscription is dated in the first year of his reign. The vihāra named after him may also have been built even earlier than his accession. That may have been the reason for keeping the majority of the Sarvāstivādins with the president belonging to that school, in the Buddhist council convened by him. As a patron of that school, it may have been his desire to see that the views of his school are carried which could have been possible only when that school had a majority. Therefore epigraphic evidence points to the fact that Kaniṣka was a Sarvāstivādin, and it would thus corroborate Hieun Tsang's account that in his council the Sarvāstivādins had the majority and their decisions weighed. Any traditional evidence which may point to Kaniṣka's patronage of Mahāyānism is thus unsupported. In fact epigraphic evidence which is a sure and sound piece of evidence points to the other direction, namely that King Kaniṣka was a Sarvāstivādin. As Kern has rightly remarked²¹, "In the Buddhist council itself, on external and internal grounds, an inference

19. Watters: Yuan Chwang I pp. 202,283.

20. Siem Konow: Corpus Indicarum Vol. II p. 137.

21. Manual of Indian Buddhism p. 122.

may be drawn that the council was only attended by the Śrāvakas or Hinayānists, or at least the opinion of the Mahāyānists, if represented at all, found no support.

The Sarvāstivādins, who had a very strong hold at Nagara in the Jelalabad district, as is evident from the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription²² of the time of Śodasa, received an impetus from royal patronage of King Kaniṣka, and they were able to establish a new Vihāra (*nava vihāra*) near about Kurram quite close to Taxila, as is mentioned in the Kurram Casket inscription of the twentieth year²³. In the time of King Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins had their centres in the east at Śravasti and in the Āryavarta proper at Mathura²⁴. The centre at Mathura was in existence even till a later period as is evident from Anyor Bodhisattva inscription²⁵. There is no later record of the Sarvāstivādins. There is an undated record²⁶ of the Dharmaguptikas who along with the Sarvāstivādins formed offshoots of the Mahisāsakas, but it is uncertain whether they flourished concurrently with the Sarvāstivādins, or came into existence when the Sarvāstivādins probably began to decline. It is not improbable to suggest that the school of the Sarvāstivādins which had enjoyed the patronage of the first Kuśāpa king Kaniṣka was on the wane after him. This may have been due to the want of royal patronage, lack of efficient and well versed teachers as well as the growth of the rival school of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Each of these causes has to be examined.

Now the Mahāsaṅghikas did exist before the time of Kaniṣka²⁷, were in existence in the time of Kaniṣka²⁸, and continued to flourish at least till the ninety-first year of the Kuśāpa era²⁹. This would show that though the Sarvāstivādins had enjoyed the patronage of

22. Sten Koss : Corpus Vol. II, p. 30 ff.

23. Ibid. p. 152.

24. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 181.

25. Vogel : Catalogue of the Mathura Museum No. A. 66.

26. U. P. H. S. July 1939 p. 24 No. XIV.

27. Cf. Mathura Lion Capital Inscription of the time of Śodasa.

28. U. P. H. S. July 1939, p. 23, No. XIII.

29. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 69.

King Kaniṣka, the Mahāsāṅghikas were not curbed to such an extent as to be wiped off. They had their centres in Afghanistan³⁰ as well as in India³¹ from where a number of their epigraphic records were recovered. After the death of King Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins ceased to enjoy royal patronage for even the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription, the last and the solitary Sarvāstivādins record does not at all hint at the association of the emperor with this school. This naturally gave an opportunity for the Mahāsāṅghikas to rise again. Now if we are to believe the traditional evidence the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna who was born as the tradition supposes at the time of the Kaniṣka Buddhist Council³², became the greatest promoter of Mahāyānaism, which entertained views agreeing with the old sect, the Mahāsāṅghikas³³. Naturally the Mahāsāṅghikas had a double opportunity to rise namely, the want of royal patronage for the Sarvāstivādins and the existence of the great teacher Nāgārjuna who was their promoter. The fact that they had three Vihāras at Mathura namely, the Āpanaka, the Cutaka and the Krauṣṭika vihāra is a sufficient proof of their strong hold. Viewing these reasons it is probable that after the time of Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins ceased to have royal patronage and they lacked good teachers while on the other hand the Mahāsāṅghikas began to rise. This may have caused the decline of the Sarvāstivādins who did not leave any epigraphic record after the Anyor inscription though the last record of the Mahāsāṅghikas is dated in the ninety-first year of the Kuśāṇa era.

It would thus appear that in the Kuśāṇa period, the two important schools of Buddhism, namely, the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas, continued as in the time of Śodasa, to fight for counteracting the truth expounded by each other thereby trying to gain supremacy. The royal patronage of one sect at one period did not sufficiently curb the growth of the other sect which after the death of the patron of the Āntagonistic school,

30. Cf. Wardak inscription of the time of Huvīṣka.

31. Cf. Paliñnera stone Bowl Inscription and others No. XI-XIV of U.P.H.S.
July 1939.

32. Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 122.

33. Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibetan Lamaism, p. 10.

coupled with its vehement and ardent supporter Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna gained supremacy. Whether the Sarvāstivādins with the help of Dharmagupta, and his sect, who also belonged to Mahīśasaka group tried again is a question to be discussed later.³⁴

34. Read at the last Session of the Indian History Congress, Lahore.

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THE LEGEND OF PRAHLĀDA¹

BY MOHAN SINGH, Ph.D., D.Litt.

III

The Esoteric and Phenomenal meanings of the Legend of Prahlāda

ALTHOUGH I have tried to extract the possible historical Prahlāda, on studying the *Taittireya*² and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads* I sometimes feel that it is a legend and has been based on and developed out of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanigads*. The clue is supplied by the important words occurring in the story in its less as in its fully developed form. Those who later fully developed it also kept the original purpose or significance in their view.

Hiranyakasīpu is composed of *Hiranya* and *Kaipu*. *Hiranya* is gold, wealth, the earth, that which takes one away from Brahman. It is the form. Let us recall *Hiranyakaritas* and *Hiranyagarbha* in the Vēdas. Gold is connected with self. It is connected with the *Satyuga*. *Hiranya* is also connected with *Agni* or fire and thus with the Sun. Gold is also connected with the golden fort of the *Asuras*. These supplied the Paurāṇika mind with the great king *Hiranyakasīpu* of the *Asuras* who through *tapas* obtained immortality, *Sarvadevatmya*, etc. from Brahman, who was wealthy, who had his *Sabha*, who had his capital at Mūlisthān³, where the temple of the Sun lay, and who became

1. Continued from Vol. XXXI, Page 109.

2. Taitt. Vol. I, 15, 16, 17, 22. Taitt. Br. I, 5, 9. Kan. Br. Up. III, 21.

3. The *Bhavīgya Purāṇa* records the introduction of the worship of the Sun into the north-west of Hindustan by *Samba*, the son of Krishna. *Samba* departed from Dwāraka and proceeding from the northern bank of the Sindhu, crossed the great river Chāndrabhāga, to the celebrated grove of Mitra (Mitravana), where by fasting, penance, and prayer, he acquired the favour of Sūrya, and was cleansed of his leprosy.....*Samba* engaged to construct the temple of the Sun and so found, in connection with it, a city on the banks of the Chāndrabhāga.....(There is a reference to the *Magas*, the Iranian Zoroassirians.)

proud and who went away from Brahma. The pillar in Sanskrit is *Stambha*, a synonym of which is *Valli*. With the *Valli*, the sacrificial post, is connected Ānanda in the Vēdas. Ānanda has been allegorized, personified as Prahlāda which means joy and, Prahlāda which means sound. He is *Rasa*, *Soma*, *Kama*. The formless juice resides in the *rūpa*. This is Prahlāda born of *Hiranyakasipu*. *Narasimha* is the same as the *Uttama Puruṣa*, or *Purnapottama* or *Nara Hari*. The best man kills, sacrifices the *asura* in man and the juice, the Ānanda, the bliss of self, the Kāma thrives and connects itself with the whole world through love. This gives us the atonement of Prahlāda, or Prahlāda's reconciliation with *Hiranyakasipu*, and Prahlāda's securing of exculpation and forgiveness for his father. This Ānanda is also *Sat* as opposed to *Asat*; therefore we get the king Prahlāda speaking the truth while adjudging between *Sudhana* and his own son *Virochana*. Ānanda is light and power. Of the one, the other is born; this gives us the son *Virochana* and the grandson *Bali*. Bali or strength will, in its turn as an *Asura*, like Hiranyakasipu, gives us a legend. And that he does, signifying the same thing as this legend does. *Narasimha* takes the aid of *Om*. The *Pauraniku* mind goes into details which appropriately and continuously add to it. The *asura* is killed in the evening twilight at the threshold by nails which are neither wet nor dry, by a form which is neither god nor beast, and is killed because he would not realise the One-manifoldness of Viṣṇu. These parts of the myth proceeded from the character of the realization which brings about the death of the lower-self for the sake of Ānanda so that Ānanda may get reconciled to the lower-self, which has acquired true knowledge and is no longer the lower self. That realization consists in knowing the One in the Many and in rising above both pain and pleasure, hope and despair, light and darkness, virtue and vice, in short, transcending all duality. It is the heart which is torn open. True, it is the heart which must die. After death it attains real immortality. Its previous life was not real but was a sort of curse, born of rejection, ignorance, though that life and power too, had come through creative *tapas*. This gives us the story of the curse *Jaya* and *Vijaya* brought upon themselves and the removal of that curse.

through their births and deaths on the earth and their return as door-keepers of Visṇu. They cannot have the Heaven, cannot become its masters. It is Prahlāda who obtains the dignity of Indra and is finally united with Visṇu. It is the son alone who can enter Heaven. Those who live in the capital of the *Asura* are *Mlecchas*; true, for that is the seat of *Ahankara*, pride, duality, *Māya* which, though all powerful, is yet evil. Prahlāda, the *Ananda*, the *Aurita*, is persecuted, pressed, in denial of the Unity and Harmony, he stands for. The *Sabha* is the glory that the lower-self through its *tapas*, effort instigated by the desire to wreak vengeance, acquires or creates but such a glory is *asuric* and must be destroyed by the best self. All the higher powers are for that destruction. Prahlāda is an *avatāra*; he is the sun-god of the *Vedas*. He is wisdom, ideal behaviour and even Indra learns it from him. He is the first one taught by Kapila who is no other than Rudra, the Lord. Śukra is the teacher of the *Asuras*; he is wisdom and poetry. He is the Guru both of the *Asuras* and the *Suras*. But his sons, Sanda and Marka⁴, are discarded by Prahlāda for they represent the wrong, the lower, the baser use of wisdom and poetry, and *yoga*. Śukra, the higher use of wisdom, is the true teacher of Prahlāda. Prahlāda sees and understands *Narasiṁha*, the one in the many but *Hiranyakasīpa* cannot; though the latter suspects that He is going to be his death. The Power of fire, water, incantations, personified as such or as priests and *daityas* cannot kill Prahlāda, the *Ananda*, who is saved by Visṇu whom he praises, and with whom he becomes one.

The three Upaniṣads mentioned above and the *Taittariya Āranyaka* help us to explain many a minor detail which was worked up into the fully developed legend by the various Purāṇas according to their preferences. *Purana* itself comes from *Purāṇam*, another name for *Brahman* in league with Satvic *Maya*. There is a prayer in the *Taitt-Āranyaka*: "May the *Hirayagarbha* protect us; may *Narasiṁha* who has nails like *Vajra* and sharp teeth protect us." Is it not enough to provide the *Pauranika* with a Man-lion; and yet the *Bhāgavata* emphasizes that the Lord was not half a man

4. Like Madhu and Kaitabha, which the *Mahabharata* equates with *Rajas* and *Tamas*. See *Santi Parva*, Vol. II, p. 840.

and half a lion; but that at one moment He looked like a lion and at another like a man. The Higher self, the Best-man must look like it as the Universal self is now *Hari*, the Lion, and now *Vigñu*. The Pillar is the post of sacrifice; it is the place in which the sacrificer will appear; it is the heart, the presence of the Lord which is denied by the lower self. The lower self considers it just a support of his own glory. The *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad* says that the demons can be overcome by *Udgitta* or praise. Death means liberation from the contact of innate sin. So it was with Hiranyakasipu. He was torn open by the nails. Yes, "the consciousness of the soul extends to the nails". Hiranyakasipu became all gods and secured his *sabbha* through penance, but he forgot what the *devas* and *asuras* are asked to realize by the meanings of the words तीर्ति or दाति which is, restrain your desire, be liberal and exercise clemency. Hiranyakasipu does none of these. Prahlāda was saved by the remembrance of the name of Rāma; quite so, for "Life verily is Ram, राम". The Sindhu country was noted for its horses, according to the *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad*. The lower self fails at the height of his pride and is struck by the higher self; it is thus that at noon on *Vaiśakha Suds* fourteenth on a Saturday Narasimha appears. The lower self takes time to realize its mistakes and expires; he at first tries to fight it but fights a losing battle, conscious of its doom. *Narasimha*, therefore, kills him in the evening twilight, several hours after his own manifestation; some would make it seven days after, during which Hiranyakasipu first makes his subordinates, his lower passions, to capture *Narasimha*. We may stop at the killing of the lower self by the higher self and not bring in the persecutions of Prahlāda but put down the death of the former as having been brought about at the instance of the prayers of the good folk tyrannized over by it, rather than to the inner hunger; in which case Bhagvān may appear at the instance of the Devas and not for the protection of Prahlāda. In the *Taitt. Up.* we are told that the Rishis of the *Taitt. Up.* are Vigñu, who pervades the Sun; Brahmā; Varuna; and Bhrigu. Hari is the deity. The God Indra is said to be produced from the eternal Vēdas. *Purusa* is al-

intelligence, immortal and golden, *Maha*⁵ resides in Brahman; he obtains the kingdom of self. Let Viṣṇu of powerful strides be favourable to us. Penance is Brahman. Let him worship as salutation and all desires bow down to him. Hari is resplendent like gold. Cannot we on this basis make Hiranyakasipu obtain all he desires by worshipping Brahma by salutation; cannot we connect a Bhārgava with him as his teacher; cannot we bring in Hari, the lion, to liberate him from his sense of duality; can we not make Hiranyakasipu, ignorant of the Vēdas and inimical to Indra, whom he vanquishes; cannot we make Indra divest Hiranyakasipu of all his glory of the lower-self when he is away to perform penance; cannot we make the (Uttama Puruṣa) Narasiṁha, the Self, the Atma, the Brahma, the Aum, have the resplendence of a hundred Suns? Ānanda, Sat and Chit go together; therefore Prahlāda (Ānanda) is a born *Bhakta* and knower, one who is conscious of the Lord Viṣṇu even in the womb, and who speaks truth, under most trying circumstances, when the life of his own son is at stake.

The higher self has, and accepts, no other teacher than the Universal self; so Prahlāda is taught by Viṣṇu Himself who resides in every heart. Jīva as such cannot have perfect immortality; with all his *tapas* he can only achieve immunity for a long time from ordinary natural means of destruction and acquire sovereignty over the three worlds, and extensive glory. Hiranyakasipu exemplifies this. All creation comes through *tapas*; hence Hiranyakasipu to create his empire carries out *tapas* and repairs to Brahmā, the creator, and has his wishes fulfilled, through salutations and praise. The mentality that treats gold and a lump of earth alike is either that of a saint or of a child: Prahlāda, the saint, therefore, manifests his sanctity from his very birth and all persecutions of him and Viṣṇu's manifestations for and to him take place while he is still a boy. Of Brahmā, the creator, was born *Sanaka*, the devotee of Viṣṇu; of Hiranyakasipu is born Prahlāda; in fact, says the Śiva Purāna, Prahlāda was an incarnation of the very *Sanaka*.

5. Maha is the moon; so is Prahlāda, the moon of a particular time of the year. Maha is sun.

Since one is minded to intensive and extensive allegorization and mythologization, all one has to do is to go deepest, watch carefully the numberless aspects of the self and non-self, and the various phenomena of Nature which divinely teach that relation of self and non-self, and then give them appropriate garbs using pregnant words. Once you have humanized abstract qualities and natural phenomena, you can go on adding endlessly any human touches you like or choose as impressive. This is how our legend has grown during all these centuries. Perhaps, originally in nature it represented only the summer Sun overwhelming with his light, the mountain Himācala, and the moon bringing immeasurable joy to the sun-struck people at night.

Let us hear the *Narasimha-Upanisad* (Dārā Shikoh's Persian translation). The mother of the calves is desire; the all-devouring lion is the Ātma; all the desires are in Māyā whom the lion-Ātma eats. The all-eating lion is Brahman, he is light. He who thus knows the Ātma, becomes the Ātma and *Narasimha*, the light, the Brahman, the desireless one. The lion is the vanquisher of all, the frightener of all, the joy-giver of all, the destroyer of life. We cannot name him other than Sat, Cit and Ānanda. All directions are his face. The Jīva's own sin is his devil. By *Nara* is meant to be *Jīva* and by *Simha* the *Paramātmā*. Whosoever doubts the unity of Ātma is torn into thousands of pieces. This *Aum* (which) is the Ātma; this Ātma is the all-vanquishing lion; he destroys ignorance; He verily is knowledge. He is in all time, all space; He is the One true Ātma. This Māyā, which although is not separate from anything, separates all bodies and makes one as the worshipper and the other as the worshipped one.

Does this not clearly and openly avow that Hiranyakaśipu is the *Jīva*, the golden *Narasimha* the Ātma, and the wise Prahlāda, the *Buddhi*? Again, Hiranyakaśipu is Māyā, Narasimha is Brahman, Prahlāda is Sativa. Once again, Prahlāda is Ānanda, Visu is Sat and Hari is Cit. If we recall the statement of the Matsya Purāṇa that *Mandara*, the mountain, is the son of Hiranyakaśipu then we get an appropriate phenomenal interpretation which may have been the original Vedic observation.

Hiranyakasipu is the night over the earth and in the sky ; Narasimha is the Sun, and Mandara, the mountain.⁶ The Sun destroys darkness and illuminates the high mountain peak. We have already been apprised of the sacrificial meaning that Vispu is the Sacrifice-*Puruṣa*, Hiranyakasipu is the sacrifice-*pāśu* and Prahlāda, the *Soma*. Almost the same identifications apply to Bali or Vali, the son of Virocana, grandson of Prahlāda. *Mahābhārata* (*Santi Parva*, Vol. II) is perfectly clear on this point, (P. 123) : "Tell me where may I now find that Vali whose wealth He was the god of wind. He was Varuna. He was Surya. He was Soma. He was Agni that used to warm all creatures. He became water. I do not find where he now is." Prahlāda, Virocana and Bali are the three (steps) equating with all other dark, *asuric* threes.

IV

The Character of Prahlāda and His Teachings

Bhishma said (Mahābhārata, Santi Parva)?—"The Chief of the Daityas, Prahlāda, was unattached to all worldly objects. His sins had been washed away. Of respectable parentage, he was possessed of great learning. Free from stupefaction and pride, ever observant of the quality of goodness, and devoted to various vows, he took praise and censure equally. Possessed of self-restraint . . . he was never angry with things that displeased him and never rejoiced at the association of objects that were agreeable. He cast an equal eye upon gold and a clump of earth. Steadily engaged in study of the Soul and in acquiring Emancipation, and firm in knowledge, he had arrived at fixed conclusions in respect of truth.

Cakra or Indra said to Prahlāda : "O king, I behold all those qualities permanently residing in thee by which a person wins the esteem of all. Thy understanding seems to be like that of a child, free from attachment and aversion."

6. Mandara within the human body ; the seven mountains have their corresponding parts and powers in the human constitution—physical and mental.

7. P. C. Ray's Translation, Vol. II, pp. 190-193.

Prahlāda said : " He who regards himself as the doer of acts, good or bad, possesses a wisdom that is vitiated He who is acquainted with only the transformations of Nature but not with Nature that is supreme and exists by herself, feels stupefaction in consequence of ignorance When I know what the origin is of all the ordinances of morality, I am incapable, O Cakra, of indulging in evil For one that is possessed of wisdom, that is self-restraint, that is contented with the light of self-knowledge, no trouble or anxiety exists By simplicity, by heedfulness, by cleansing the Soul, by mastering the passions, and by waiting upon aged seniors, O Cakra, a person succeeds in attaining to *Emancipation*. Know this, however, that one acquires wisdom from Nature, and that the acquisition of tranquility also is due to the same cause. Indeed, everything else that thou perceivest is due to Nature."

The *Daitya* Prahlāda by the merit of his behaviour had snatched from the high-souled *Indra* his sovereignty and reduced the three worlds to subjection. *Indra* went to *Bṛhaspati* wanting to know the source of felicity, and was referred by him to *Uçanas*, (the high-souled *Bṛāhmaṇa*) who should instruct him better. *Uçanas* therefore, disguised referred him to Prahlāda who had better knowledge. *Indra*, as a *brāhmaṇa* went to Prahlāda, his vanquisher and was thus instructed by him :⁸

" I do not, O regenerate one, feel any pride in consequence of my being a king nor do I cherish any hostile feelings towards Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, I accept and follow the counsels of policy they declare unto me based upon the teaching of Śukra I bear no malice. I am of righteous soul. I have conquered wrath. I am self-restrained and all my senses are under my control. I taste the nectar dropped by learned men and like the Moon among the constellations I live among the members of my race."

Pleased with Indra disguised as a Brāhmaṇa, Prahlāda told him to ask for a boon. Indra, the clever, said that he desired to acquire Prahlāda's behaviour⁹. He thereby wanted to rob

8. Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Vol. I, pp. 402-406.

9. In the Astronomical Pattern behaviour would be motion and radiation of the dominant planet, season etc.

Prahlāda of his conduct. Prahlāda granted even that. The account proceeds to tell us how Behaviour went out of the body of Prahlāda in the shape of a flame of light and after it went, respectively, Righteousness, Truth, Good-deeds, Might, Prosperity and each refusing to live in Prahlāda as the previous one had left. "Righteousness and Truth and Good-deeds and Might and Prosperity all have their root verily in *Behaviour*." It was by his behaviour that Prahlāda reduced the three worlds to subjection. He is robbed by Cakra of that sovereignty, which he had over the three worlds.

As to the means of acquiring Behaviour, *Dhṛitarāṣṭra* said: "Those means were indicated by the high-souled Prahlāda while discoursing unto Indra Abstention from injury, by act, thought and word, in respect of all creatures, compassion, and gift constitute behaviour that is worthy of praise. That act or exertion by which others are not benefited, or that act in consequence of which one has to feel shame, should never be done. That act, on the other hand, should be done in consequence of which one may win praise in society."

(Concluded)

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RĀMĀNANDA THE TRUE AUTHOR OF THE BHĀSYARATNAPRABHĀ

BY K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

THOUGH generally attributed to Govindānanda (See the Nirnaya Sagar Press ed. 1904; Bibliotheca Indica ed. 1863; Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, p. 418), Bhāsyaratnaprabhā, the well known commentary on the Śaṅkarabhāṣya seems to be really the work of his disciple Rāmānanda. In the fourth of the introductory verses of the work the author likens himself to a bee which is contented by entering into the lotus of the feet of Govindānanda :

श्रीमद्भौविन्द्याणीचरणकमलगो निर्वितोऽहं यथालिः ।

Another proof of the identity of the author is the invocation to Rāma. Tradition has it that Rāmānanda was so called on account of his single-minded devotion to this favourite deity of his. A comparison of श्रीशंकरे भाष्यकृते प्रणन्य व्यासं हरि सुखकृतं च वच्चिम् । of the present work (intro. verse 5) with वेदान्तार्थं गभीरं द्वितिसुगमतया बोधयामीति विष्णुव्यासात्मा of the Vivaraṇopanayīśa, another of Rāmānanda's works (Ben. Sans. Series, 1901, intro. verse 2), in both of which Viṣṇu is said to have incarnated as Vyāsa, makes it clear that both are by the same author. At the end of the latter work there is :

गोविन्दानन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादपदौकसा ।

रामानन्दसरस्वत्या रचितोऽनुक्रमो मुदे ॥

A third of Rāmānanda's works, namely the Brahmasaṁptavarṣipī, a direct commentary on the Brahmasūtra, has at the end the colophon :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपारब्राह्मकाचार्यश्रीमुकुन्दगोविन्द-

श्रीचरणशिक्षितश्रीरामानन्दसरस्वतीकृतौ ब्रह्मसूत-

वृत्तौ ब्रह्मामृतवर्षिष्यां चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

(Chowkhāmba ed.)

From this we learn that Govindānanda was also called Mukundāgovinda. It is not known how this work is attributed to Dharmabhaṭṭa, son of Tīrumalācārya and disciple of Rāmachandrācārya in the colophon in the Telugu edition, Sarasvatīnilaya Press, 1900. It is also not known how in the Benares edition (See editor's note) of the Vivaraṇopanyāsa the verse कामाक्षीदरुतुम्य etc. which is found at the beginning of the Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā also, is considered 'Asambaddha'.

There is a fourth work by our author, namely the Yogamāṇiprabhā, a commentary on the Yogasūtra. This also has at the end the colophon :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीगोविन्दानन्द-
भगवत्यादशिष्यश्रीरामानन्दसरस्तीकृती सांख्य-
प्रवचने योगमणिप्रभायां कैवल्यपादशतुर्थः ॥

(Ben. San. Series ed.)

The similarity of the titles Maniprabhā and Ratnaprabhā is also a point in favour of the identity of the authors.

The error in the ascription of the Bhāṣyaratnaprabhā, which probably originated in a wrong tradition that Govindānanda and Rāmānanda referred to the same individual, is found also in colophons of MSS. of the work and is not a modern one. For instance in Nos. 8, H 26 and 27, 1, 89 of the Adyar Library the commentary is ascribed to Govindānanda (Cf. also colophons of the MSS. of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras; India Office, etc.). But in spite of the colophons attributing the work to Govindānanda there is found the title Rāmānandiya at the end of both the above MSS. of the Adyar Library, besides 'Rāmānandācāra' contained on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the former. It is found as Rāmānandi both on the cover and in the margins of the leaves (in the latter in the contracted form सूतमा-टी-रामा) of one of the India Office MSS. (Cf. Keith 7979) also. Authoritative writers, mention always Rāmānanda as the author and never confound him

with Govindānanda. For instance, Vāyagundē Vaidyanātha in his Kṛta on the Laghusiddhāntamālā just speaks of the commentary as Nāgeśa's. Compare

एनेनान्यथातानन्दगिरिरामानन्दादिव्यास्यानमपाक्षम्

(Chowkhamba ed. p. 288).

आनन्दगिरिरामानन्दाद्युक्ति लण्डयति ।.....

रामानन्दोक्तमप्यपाक्षम् । (P. 291)

Our historians of Indian Philosophy have not taken note of this, nor of the fact that both Govindānanda and Rāmānanda were earlier than Nāgeśa.

Aufrecht mentions the Bhāsyaratnaprabhā under the names of both Govindānanda (C. C. I. p. 169) and Rāmānanda (p. 520). The entries of Vivaranopanyāsa, Bhāsyaratnaprabhā and the Brahmatavayurśiṇi which occur under different Rāmānanda Sarasvatis in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, I. p. 521, have to be brought together under one author.



KUMĀRA RĀMA

BY H. SREENIVASA JOIS

KAMPILARAYA and his son Kumāra Rāma were ruling the country round about Hampi in the early part of the fourteenth Century A.D. Their exploits have been described in detail in four Kannada works by poets. All these four works are in the sūngatya metre, in a simple and spirited style. An article containing the summary of the work "Kumāra Rāmanā Sāngatya" by the poet Ganga is published by Mr. M. H. Rama Sarma in the Q. J. M. S. for October 1929.* An outline of the story of "Paradāra Sōdara Rāmanā Kathe" by poet Nanjunda is given in M. A. R. for 1929 at pp. 36 to 47.

Hampye Charapati Mahālingasvāmy has written a work by name "Bāla Kumāra Rāmanā Sāngatya". This work contains nineteen cantos (ನಾಟ್ಯ) and 4283 verses. The poet has paid homage to Kavi Kālidasa, Kanaka, Talapada, Channa, Purundhara-Vittala Harakavi, Hampye Hari, Raghavanka, Kereyapadmarasa, Kavilinga and others. The poet belonged to the Revanacarya Sampradaya of Melanagave of Śivaganga (ಶಿವಗಂಗೆ ಮೇಲಾಚಾರೀ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯದ ಕ್ಷಣಿಗಳು) and wrote this work by the grace of the God Virupākṣa (ವಿರುಪಾಕ್ಷ). The poet might have lived during the sixteenth century A.D. This is a very rare manuscript copy in my possession.

Another work on Kumāra Rāma is the one written by poet Nagasangayya by name *Paramāriyarige Sahodaranembantha kathe* (ಪರಮಾರ್ಥಿಗೆ ಸಹದರಣೆಂಬಂತಹ ಕಥೆ) which contains twenty-five cantos and 2573 verses. The author is no doubt a Śalva as he has paid homage to Śiva and Pārvathi. He has also referred to the deities Viresa (ವಿರೇಸ) of Lepakṣi, Channavira, Śri Kṛṣṇa and Jaṭangi Ramesia. Though he has paid homage to the learned in general he has not mentioned the names of any earlier poets.

* The Exploits of King Kampila and Kumāra Ramanatha (Ganga's version)—By M. H. Rama Sharma, M.A.S. Supplement to "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society", October 1929.

An outline of the story as given by Nagasangayya is given below—

1. A chieftain by name Mummadi Singa, Kirata by caste, was ruling a petty kingdom in eastern Karnātaka country. He died of old age leaving behind him a queen Manchale and a young son Kampilarāya. Soon after his death a famine set in that country and hence Manchale Devi left the country with her son and followers. They temporarily settled near Jaṭangi Rāmagiri Hill close to the River Chinna Hagari. There he was blessed with a son by the favour of the deity Jaṭangi Rāmeśa who became the family God of Kampilarāya thence forward. Kampilarāya left the place and finally settled at a convenient place in the Hosamale valley near Kumārasamvī Hill.

2. Kampilarāya built there a fort called Hosmaledurga. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Jagadapparāya of Gutti and paid tribute to him. He became a crowned king. He married Hariyala Devi, daughter of an expelled king of Gujarat called Cha Rāmarāya. Hariyala Devi became a crowned queen and was blessed with a son by the family deity Jaṭangi Rāmeśa. He was a good athlete, delighted in wrestling, horse riding and elephant riding.

3. Kampilarāya while returning from the hunting ground met a beautiful maiden named Ratnaji whom he married forcibly. Hariyala Devi apprehended that Kumāra Rāma might be ensnared by Ratnaji's beauty. But Rāma consoled his mother by taking a vow that he would never swerve from the right path.

4. While Kumāra Rāma had gone for hunting he saw Kummatadurga which was in ruins. He thought that it was a convenient place to have for his capital. At his suggestion Kampilarāya got a new fort built by his minister Baichappa. Kumāra Rāma entered the new fort of Kummatadurga in an auspicious moment. He collected a large army and conquered the forts of Badami, Havagallu and Monadi. Kampila's joy knew no bounds at his son's success, but the Jagadapparāya of Gutti and King Ballalaraya were alarmed. The heroic deeds of Kumāra Rāma were duly communicated to the Sultan of Delhi.

5. When Babamma the Delhi Sultan's daughter heard of the beauty and heroic deeds of Kumāra Rāma, she decided to marry him and none else. The Sultan promised her daughter that he would get Rāma to Delhi. But all his attempts became futile. The Sultan's soldiers were insulted by Kumāra Rāma by wearing the shoes of the Sultan.

6. Jagadapparāya, King of Gutty who was subordinate to the Sultan was ordered to attack Kumāra Rāma and send him to Delhi as a prisoner. Jagadapparāya's army was utterly defeated by Kumāra Rāma.

7. Jagadapparāya who was very much pleased with the valour of Kumāra Rāma gave him his daughter Rāmaladevi in marriage. Four other brides were selected and the marriage with five brides was celebrated with great pomp and pleasure on Thursday, the third day of the bright half of Magha.

8. Yappatirāja son of Vira Rudra of Oragallu had a horse named Bolla which he had purchased for a lakh of varahas. Kumāra Rāma went to Oragallu and in a battle that ensued he defeated Yappatirāja and captured this famous horse Bolla. Devi Setti Linga a general of Rudrarkya abandoned his master and joined Kumāra Rāma and they became thick friends later on.

9. Macane Gowda, a chief of Huliyan Nādu under Hoysala Ballala Rāya heard of the triumph of Kumāra Rāma and told his generals that he would march against Kumāra Rāma and bring him a prisoner. When this boast reached the ear of Kumāra Rāma, he immediately marched against Huliyan, defeated Marana Gowda who paid a tribute and also presented Kumāra Rāma with a parrot of golden colour. Rāma returned home triumphant.

10-12. A Sirdar by name Bahadur Khan incurred the displeasure of the Sultan of Delhi. He immediately left the place and sought the protection of the several kings of Southern India. It was Kumāra Rāma who promised him protection. Nemi Khan, a trusted general of the Sultan of Delhi, marched against Kummata-durga with a large army and sent word in advance to Kampilarāya offering certain terms. Kumāra Rāma refused to surrender Bahadur Khan and styled himself as "*Marehakkavara Sarekoduva Rāyara*

Ganda". The general surrounded the hilly tract of Kummata-durga and a fierce battle ensued. Nemi Khan could not fight with the Bedars in the Hilly tract and was finally defeated and returned to Delhi.

13. Nemi Khan sent a letter to Ballalarāya requesting him to fight with Kumāra Rāma and to capture him alive. Ballalarāya with the help of the armies of Rudraraya of Oragallu, Singarāya of Mungali Desa and the Musalmans of Chippagiri (A mohammedan garrison was stationed at Chippagiri in the Bellary District) and others attacked a fort belonging to Kumāra Rāma. Ballalarāya was overcome and he entered into a compromise.

14. In the next spring Kampilarāya went on a hunting expedition with his retinue while Kumāra Rāma collected all the boats in the town and went to the River Tungabhadra along with his friends and relatives and spent the day in boating till they were tired. Then they went to the Virupakṣasvamy temple and offered prayers. They returned home in the evening.

15. Katanna suggested to Kumāra Rāma to engage themselves in a ball-play. Kumāra Rāma persuaded his mother to give him the pearl ball while she tried to dissuade him from the ball-play. As her warnings proved futile she gave him the ball. Many nobles and friends took part in the game. The plain in front of Ratnaji's palace was chosen as the play ground. Citizens and a number of dancing girls of Kummata-durga assembled there to witness the ball-play.

16-17. Ratnaji the most beloved wife of Kampilarāya who heard the noise and laughter made by the party during the play went to the upper storey of the palace to witness the game. Sangi, the maiden servant of Ratnaji was pointing out each member of the play to Ratnaji. When she saw Kumāra Rāma she fell in love with him forgetting she was his step-mother. Through ill-luck the ball fell within the compound of Ratnaji's palace. Immediately she took the ball and worshipped it keeping it on her cot. Kumāra Rāma sent Katanna and then Baliuga to fetch the ball, Ratnaji refused to give it to any other than to Rāma himself. So in spite of several warnings he went to his step-mother's apartment to fetch the ball. When Ratnaji saw him she expressed

her passion to him and made several overtures. Kumāra Rāma's advice fell on a deaf ear. He tried to get away from the palace, but she would not allow him. He forcibly withdrew from the palace.

18. Infuriated Ratnaji misrepresented these facts to Kampilarāya and told him that she would die unless Rāma's head was cut off. The king sent word with Bhandarada Bukkanna to the minister Baichappa to cut off Rāma's head immediately.

19. The clever minister ascertained the truth of the incident and concluded that Rāma was innocent. He concealed Kumāra Rāma in an underground cell specially prepared with several of his companions. The head of one Kalla Bbanta Rāma (which resembled Kumāra Rāma's head) was cut off with his consent and it was shown to Ratnaji as a token of his death. The news of Rāma's death spread all over Bhartakhand immediately.

20. The Sultan who learnt the news sent his general Nemi Khan with a large army to capture Kummatadurga. At the approach of this large army, Kumāra Rāma's subjects fled in all directions. Nemi Khan sent word to Kampila to surrender Bahadur Khan and be happy. The King refused to do so. A fierce battle ensued and many persons lay dead on both sides.

21. Nemi Khan determined to take the fort by storm and advanced as far as the Tiger gate (*तुळ द्वारा*). Kampilarāya was disheartened at this and felt sorry for having executed his son. The tactful minister consoled the king and promised him to make arrangements to drive away the enemy. At the request of the minister, Kumāra Rāma and his companions came out of the cell and fought bravely. When Tumbara Khan, a prominent general of the Muhammadan army fell down dead, Nemi Khan being disheartened at this disastrous defeat retreated. Kampilarāya's joy knew no bounds when he found out that the new cavalier was no other than his son Kumāra Rāma, but Ratnaji and her maid servant committed suicide.

22. Kampilarāya who was over-joyed at the success of his son crowned him king. Many outsiders came and settled in his country. The kingdom was peaceful. The Samantas of Ikkeri,

Kalyanna, Kalburgi, Sāgara, Bādāni, Toregallu, Basavāpattana and Sirra paid tributes to him.

23. Kumāra Rāma then went on a pilgrimage to Hampi Virupakṣa and Jatangi Rameśvara accompanied with his parents and retinue. He visited several important places in his kingdom enquiring after the welfare of his people. He built dharmasalas, tanks, and wells wherever needed.

24. The Sultan of Delhi was very sorry at his general's defeat. A maid servant of the Sultan, a native of middle Konkana by name Mataogi, promised that she would capture Rāma and bring him alive to the Sultan's presence. The Delhi army once again marched to Kūmatadurga which was 300 *gavandas* distant from Delhi. When Kumāra Rāma learnt of this, he made arrangements to defend the Fort and for greater safety, he sent his parents together with the Treasury, the family and children of Bahadur Khan,—500 horsemen and the minister Bāchappa to Hōsadurga. In the fierce battle that ensued the Muhammadians were severely beaten and routed and an immense booty captured. Matangi saying that it was impossible to fight against Kumāra Rāma in the hills and dales that surrounded Kūmatadurga, retreated with the nobles for a *gavanda* distance. Kumāra Rāma returned home happy.

25. The Teluga mannevārs who were serving Rāma and who bore a grudge against him as he was wearing an anklet in proof of one of his titles 'champion over nine lakhs of Telugus' (~~ఒకు దశలక్ష~~) betrayed him by requesting Matangi to return and lay siege to the fort when they would open the fort-gates. Matangi made use of the opportunity and got a large number of Hindus killed before day-break. Next morning Kumāra Rāma learning the news, mounted his horse Bolla and proceeded to the war-field. Ramayya fighting furiously caught hold of Matangi with her plaited hair (~~ఒకు దశలక్ష~~) and raised his sword to kill her, but on a second thought he let her go putting the sword in his sheath as a hero should not kill a woman even in battle. The ungrateful woman, using this advantage hit him with an arrow which struck him in his chest. When Ramayya pulled out the arrow, blood oozed out abundantly and his face faded away. He then ordered the gates to be

closed and went to Guge-kallu and sent word to his parents with Katanna that his death was nearing. Kumāra Rāma's wives and other ladies smeared their bodies with saffron paste and went in the streets singing the glorious deeds of Ramayya. They then worshipped Gouri and entered the flames laughingly and burnt themselves to death. Katanna killed his wife plunging the sword into her chest. He returned to the war-field and communicated everything to his brother Ramayya. Katanna killing the enemy without numbers fell down dead. When Kumāra Rāma saw this he closed his eyes for the last time.*

* The work abruptly ends here.

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On the Ancient Greek Myth about the Metamorphosis of
Daphne into the Laurel Tree

BY THE LATE SANNI CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE tree, which is mentioned in the underdescribed ancient Greek myth, is the Bay or Sweet Laurel (*Laurus nobilis*) which belongs to the order *Lauridæ*. In this order are included *sassafras*, *beauzinia*, *cinnabarinus* and other trees which are well-known for their aromatic and medicinal qualities. It is a large evergreen shrub which occasionally attains to the height of sixty feet but seldom assumes the appearance of a true tree. Its leaves are smaller than those of the other species of laurels and possess an aromatic and slightly bitter flavour. But they are quite free from the poisonous properties of the Cherry Laurel (*Prunus laurocerasus*). The Bay or sweet Laurel is a native of Italy, Greece and North Africa.

The Bay or sweet Laurel is generally believed to be the Daphne of the ancients. The ancient Greeks narrated the following myth to account for the origin of this tree:—

In ancient Greece, there was a beautiful grove in which a nymph named Daphne lived. One day while Daphne was wandering in this grove, Cupid the god of love shot an arrow of lead into her heart; and the girl felt a cold shiver of hatred run through her. Thereafter Cupid shot a golden arrow into the heart of the sun-god Apollo who had, shortly before, slain the terrible monster named Python. No sooner had the sun-god Apollo caught a glimpse of the beautiful nymph Daphne, who was at that time wandering about in his grove, than he fell deeply in love with her; and just as quickly Daphne had been made to hate Apollo. Thereafter she turned to flee from him into the woods. Apollo pursued her quickly, calling to her not to be afraid and not to run so fast, for fear she might hurt herself on the thorns and boughs.

At last Apollo shouted out to her: "Do not try to run away from me. I love you and will do you no harm. I am the great sun-god Apollo."

But Daphne was only the more terrified on hearing these words, and ran away more swiftly while Apollo still pursued her. He had almost overtaken her when she stretched out her arms to her father who was the god of a river along whose banks she was fleeing. She cried: "O father! help me! help me! help me! Either let the earth open up and engulf me within her, or metamorphose this form of mine so that Apollo will not love me."

Hardly had she finished her appeal for help, when her limbs grew heavy, and a thin bark began to cover her skin. Her hair became changed into green leaves, her arms to slender and slim branches, and her feet, which had carried her along so quickly, were now rooted to the ground. Her father had responded to her appeal for assistance and had metamorphosed her into a laurel tree.

When Apollo saw that his beautiful Daphne had become a tree, he wept and threw his arms about the newly-formed bark and said: "Since you cannot be my wife, fair Daphne! at least you shall be my tree, my laurel. Your foliage shall be used to crown the heads of victors and shall be green alike in summer and in winter." And so it happened—the laurel has become Apollo's emblem from that day on, and has become the symbol of honour and triumph.

From a careful study of the foregoing myth and of the account of the superstitious beliefs connected with the laurel, which has been recorded by the Roman naturalist Pliny, we find that:—

- (1) The ancient Greeks believed in the existence of a vegetation-spirit which resided in the blood of certain human beings and of particular semi-divine personages such as nymphs, which vegetation-spirit, after the death of its possessor, became developed and grew up into trees, shrubs and flowers.
- (2) The ancient Greeks looked upon death as an ugly event and, for this reason, contrived to make the deaths of virtuous men and women, and of handsome young men

and maidens look beautiful and pretty by metamorphosing their dead bodies into trees and flowering shrubs, as in the cases of Philemon and Baucis, Narcissus and Hyacinthus.

- (3) The ancient Greeks thought that the Bay or sweet Laurel was sacred to the sun-god Apollo, "especially in connection with Tempe, in whose laurel-groves the said god himself attained purification from the blood of the monster Python (whom he had slain). This legend was dramatically represented at the Pythian festival once in eight years. On this occasion, a boy was led thither from Delphi to Tempe, was after a time, led back with song, crowned and adorned with laurel".
- (4) In ancient Greece, the victors at the Pythian Games used to be crowned with the laurels of the sun-god Apollo. In this way, the sweet Laurel or Bay became the symbol of triumph in ancient Rome as well as in ancient Greece.
- (5) As Apollo was reputed to be the god of the poets, meritorious poets in ancient Greece and Rome were rewarded with the *Laurea Appollinaria*.
- (6) According to the Roman naturalist Pliny, the Bay or sweet Laurel was, like the branch of the olive-tree, the symbol of peace and victory. For this reason, banners announcing victory and the arms and weapons of the victorious soldiers used to be be-garlanded and be-wreathed with the leaves of the laurel-tree.
- (7) The ancient Romans believed that lightning could not strike the Bay or sweet Laurel. For this reason, the famous Emperor Tiberius always wore a wreath of laurel-leaves during thunderstorms as a sort of protection from the lightning-stroke. The foregoing ancient Roman superstition bears a striking similarity in the modern Bengali Hindu belief under the influence of which Hindu householders in Bengal place, on the terraces of their houses, pots with plants of the manasa or sij (*Euphorbia milii* *bolivi*) growing in them. This is believed to protect the houses from being struck by lightning.

(8) It is on account of the ancient Greek and Roman belief that the tree possessed the divine power of purification and protection that it was often planted before the doors of Greek houses, while, in ancient Rome, this tree used to be planted before the gates of the palaces of the Cæsars in order that it might serve as guardians and protectors thereof.

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REVIEWS

Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagara—By T. V. Mahalingam, Madras University Historical Series No. 15, Price Rs. 7.

MUCH progress has been made in the study of the Vijayanagara Empire since Sewell's day and since Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar started his interesting study on the Making of Mysore over forty years ago. On the third dynasty of Vijayanagara itself a number of books has been published and Father Heras who challenged the genuineness of many of the inscriptions concerning Vijayanagara is responsible for the increasing interest in this study during the last decade. The foundation of the empire had in its origin the protection of Hindu civilization and while religious movements which arose later divided the Hindu society, yet all great religious teachers and leaders of political thought rendered signal service in this rally against the onslaughts of Islam. The contribution of Vijayanagara to art and architecture, literature and administration and the social history of the period is vast since this empire followed the forms of governance in the Hindu India as we know them. It is interesting to remember that Vijayanagara provided co-rulers quite distinct from a prince or a Yuvarāja for distinct parts of the empire with a kind of concurrent jurisdiction, all under the king. We find that the selection of a ruler was by a unanimous vote of the people assembled and was made generally in the presence of ministers and nobles. The king was not an autocrat and his powers were limited by public opinion and by the royal council and by certain codes and institutions and had to be exercised and administered with due reference to the existing laws of the land.

The conqueror of Madura, Kampanna Udayyar was according to tradition a door-keeper under the Hoysala kings suggesting what may well be called the Karnāṭaka origin of the Vijayanagara Empire. The book is replete with details of administration, *viz.*, revenue, law, justice and police; military organisation; provincial government as also public warfare and diplomacy.

The influence of local bodies over the revenue policy of the government was great as the government could not impose new taxes or remit old ones without the consent of the *mahāndū* and the village assembly enjoyed the privilege of confirming honours on certain individuals for certain services rendered. The evil of bride-price with the other incidents of early marriage was in evidence. Sati was in vogue apparently being copied from the original home of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Hoysala country where the house-holders had familiarised it. Apart from women ascending the funeral pyre of the husband or burning themselves in the fire, the Lingayat ladies were being buried with their dead husbands as Nuniz says; and this custom also obtained perhaps among the goldsmiths according to Ceasar Fredrick and Gaspero Balbi. An inscription [EC. VIII Sb 496, 165, etc.] of the sixteenth century also mentions this but this kind of self-immolation does not appear to have been enjoined upon all widows but was influenced by marital affection and was done voluntarily. Family women were of a retiring disposition and seldom came out to take an active part in public although there are instances of queens following the army to the battle-field. When Krishnadēvarāya laid siege to the fort of Kondavidu in 1515 A.D. his two queens Chinnadeviamma and Tirumaladeviamma were with him. Salām by feudatories and captains to the ruling sovereign was common. The king confers very high honour if he permits any one to kiss his feet as he never gives his hands to be kissed as Nuniz remarks. The Vijayanagara emperors restored ruined temples and revived worship in them, preserved the spread of Hindu dharma and in this arduous task they were helped by Vidyāthirtha, Kriyāksakti Pandita of the Paśupata school of Saivism, Vēdānta Dēdīka and a number of scholars including Sāyaṇācārya and Madhavācārya who founded a school which wrote the commentaries on the Vēdas, Āraṇyakas and the Brāhmaṇas.

The Vijayanagara Kings built the Vidyāśāṅkara temple at Sringeri, the Ekanāthēśvara and Varadarājasvami temples at Kāñcī. The additions to the temple at Chittoor and the Svargavilasam or the celestial pavilion measuring 235 feet long and 105 feet broad was also made.

S. S.

**Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic II—Burhan's
Tuzak-i-Walajahi—Madras University Islamic Series No. 4.
Price Rs. 5 or Sh. 8 d. 6.**

MR. NAINAR in this Volume carries the history of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambar to the fall of Pondicherry, comprising most of the events that tended in the direction of establishing the supremacy of the East India Company. The English were indebted to the rulers of the Walajahi dynasty in the Carnatic. Persian manuscripts have been laid under obligation for the sources of the history and their translation is very useful to students of south Indian history. The severe fight between Hazarat-i-A'la and Dosat Khan is described clearly and this suggests the visit of Dosat Khan. The allies defeated the French and Clive too had led a personal attack with a small army much to the discomfiture of the French. The martyrdom of Dosat Khan and Hazarat-i-A'la, the further preparations of the English to defeat the French and the intrigues of Dupleix render the translation complete. The English conference with Hazarat-i-A'la and Lally's plan of campaign are given in great detail.

S. S.

**Shuja-ud-Daulah. Vol. I.—By A. S. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner, Price Rs. 5
or 7 sh. 6 d.**

THIS volume covers the period 1754 to 1765 in the history of India, gives the first half of the life of Shuja-ud-Daulah and describes the commencement and expansion of British domination over Allahabad and Oudh. Shuja-ud-Daulah the only heir of Safdar Jung became the governor of Oudh and Allahabad in October 1754. As he was indifferent to the business of administration and immersed in sensual pleasures, the important work of the State and all real power passed into the hands of Ismail Khan. Ismail Khan was looked upon as the protector of the people as Shuja-ud-Daulah's bad character made him unpopular but Ismail Khan's death in 1755 brought about an open rupture between his ministers. In 1756 Ahmed Shah Abdali of Kabul swooped down the fair fields of the Punjab and entered Delhi and returned to Afghanistan

in 1757 after devastating the country as far south as Muttra and Agra. Between the Mughals and Shuja-ud-Daulah there was trouble when the latter sought the Mahratta aid but peace was restored in January 1757. The Mahrattas were anxious to spread their dominion over the whole of Hindustan but it was not possible. Ahamed Shah Abdali gained over Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah was found in the Afghan camp on the battle-field afterwards on the 14th of January 1761. The Mahratta force after the loss of its valiant leader was utterly annihilated leaving the Shah victorious. Shuja-ud-Daulah did much humanitarian work after the Mahratta defeat. Shuja-ud-Daulah returned to Oudh after a grand victory. The English suspected the ambitious designs of Shuja-ud-Daulah in the eastern parts of the Oudh dominion, when Siraj-ud-Daulah was defeated at Plassey and the English became the real power behind the new Nawab's throne. The hotly contested battle at Buxar settled the position. The shadowy Mughal Emperor with whose name was associated an incredibly great moral and political prestige was held in his leading strings. Shuja was the most important and influential Indian Chief of the time. The victory proved so decisive and complete that the British and their troops met with no further opposition. Shuja-ud-Daulah, the erstwhile proud wazir of the Empire and the ruler of the millions, became a fugitive and his dominion lay before the feet of the English whom he had commanded a few months previously. He threw himself on the mercy of the English and the final struggle was over. It is an interesting narrative well described.

S. S.

A College Text-Book of Indian History. Vols. I & II. (Vol. I. India Down to A.D. 1200. Vol. II. 1200—1700 A.D.) By R. Sathianathaier, Published by Messrs. Rochouse & Sons, Ltd. 292, The Esplanade, Madras.

We have here a brief and up-to-date account of the history of India, with views balanced on many a topic still open to comment and criticism, well illustrated with chapters on religion, social life and culture and a section on greater India concerning Indian enterprise abroad. Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Singanpur,

Perambair and Adichebanallur were among the pre-historic sites discovered during recent years and the remains unearthed give an account of a complex and luxurious social life in contrast with the simple rural and agricultural life of the early Vedic times, since images, goddesses and lingas were characteristic of the Indus civilization. The Āryanisation of India was a long process graphically pictured in the Vedic literature and the Rāmāyaṇa presents glimpses of the Āryanisation of South India. The geographical outlook of the Rg Veda is confined to North-Western India; the Yajur Veda shows a wider knowledge of Northern India and summarises the geographical knowledge of the Vēdas; the Brāhmaṇas mention a number of cis-Vindhyan tribes and peoples. During the creative period of the four Vēdas and in the subsequent period of the Upaniṣads and the reclamation of India to Āryan way, the progress stage by stage is noticed. Then come the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas. An Indo-Āryan society is found in the Purusa-sūkta; whether interpolated or not, existing as a fact apparently, the Vēdic reference to the four castes is fixed somewhere about the ninth century B.C. Kosala, Kasi, Mithila and Kalinga are mentioned in the early Vēdic times. The sixth century B.C. witnessed religious and political developments of far-reaching consequences. Buddha, Heracitus, Isaiah, Confucius and Lao Tse were of this period and the quest was religious. Whether it was due to revolt from Brāhmaṇ domination or otherwise, the religious dissent was prompted by the soulless sacrificial system laid down in the Karmakānda of the Vēdas. With the foundation of the Achaemenian Empire, closer relations developed between Iran and India. There was an impetus to Indo-Iranian commerce and the Achaemenian domination was responsible for the prevalence of the Kharosthi script in the North-Western part of India till the third century A.D. The foreign influence on the punch-marked coins of India is doubtful though there was undeniably foreign influence on Mauryan sculpture. Alexander the Great, who had heard of a fabulously wealthy and mysterious India, containing men and things out of the range of ordinary human experience, with the spirit of geographical enquiry and a passion for natural history, was influenced in his decision to invade India which contained princes

and princelings and republican clans with a fierce love of autonomy and he left permanent effects on the Mauryan Empire.

We are all familiar with the contribution of Aśoka to Buddhism. The Mauryan revolution in the time of his predecessor was said to be Brahmanical and popular, protracted and bloody. Concerning Candragupta's abdication the author also says at p. 78, that the available archaeological evidence in support of the story is far from being contemporary not earlier than the seventh century A.D. while the tradition under consideration is generally accepted as in the main historical. The historical value of the edicts of Aśoka is in the light they throw on the aspects of life and religion throughout and beyond India at that time. His name is found in the Maski edicts and elsewhere he is referred to by his title Devanampiya Piyadasi Rāja. As stated elsewhere, the empire of Aśoka influenced parts of Southern India. The Rock Edict II mentions the Cōlas, the Pāndyas, the Satiyaputra and the Keralaputra as far as Tāmraparni as neighbouring powers obtaining the advantages of Aśoka's healing arrangements for men and animals. As we proceed, we find the story of India stage by stage and century after century and volume II continues the history of the Yadu dynasty and others. The decline of Buddhism is traced to the growing strength of Brahmanism and the triumph of Kumarila and Śamkara. Though Buddhism suffered to some extent from the violence of Puṣyamitra Sunga, Mihiragula, Śasāṅka and Muhammad-bin-Bakhtyar, the Hun invasions in general were more injurious to it than a few persecutions here and there. The decline of Buddhism began in the seventh century in south India and in the eighth century in northern India: and its collapse under muslim iconoclasm was the formal stage of its exit from India. Changes made in Buddhism to suit the tastes of its multitudinous and heterogeneous followers would have made Buddha himself find it difficult to recognize his religion for he recommended a short-cut to salvation and envisaged *nirvāṇa* as a near reality whereas the Mahāyāna treated it as a distant goal to be attained in the long run. In the sphere of religion and social life, besides the doctrine of *ahimsa*, the aversions for animal food and the growing popularity of the Vedic sacrifices, organised religious propaganda and conversion, monastic

life, image worship, temples, festivals and processions, pilgrimage to holy places and gentleness and charity, may be mentioned as the Buddhist influence on Indian life. Jainism had a chequered career but its devotees, though not in the Tamil country, are found in large numbers in northern India. The Indian intellectual sovereignty was undoubtedly due to the great contribution to a made to the influence of international thought and to Buddha Dharma.

Volume II may well be styled the rise and growth of the Muhammadan dominion in India. The vicissitudes of India's life on coming into contact with the followers of the Prophet of Arabia have been described elsewhere and need no repetition here. Administrative systems, large projects, art and architecture, culture and attempts at a religious synthesis were marked features of a devastating period in Indian political history. Rāmānuja, Madhvā, Vidyāranya, Rāmnanda, Kabir, Vallabhacarya, Chaitanya, Nanak, amongst the many, may be mentioned in this connection. Sympathy with inferiors, love for equals and reverence for superiors as well as a faithful devotion to the supreme creator of the universe was taught by all and sundry. Akbar's attempt to establish a universal religion, to supply a strong bond of union, blending the twin cultures of the Hindu and the Mussalman, let us hope will now at least be crowned with success when a common enemy of civilisation and progress is at the gate.

S. S.

Ancient India. Vol. III.—By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. & S., M.R.A.S. Published by Messrs. Sashikant & Co., Baroda. Price Rs. 9 or Sh. 15.

INDIAN History by Tribhuvandas L. Shah is a marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories claimed to be substantiated with facts and figures, from coins, inscriptions and authoritative writers. The present volume begins from 900 B.C. and ends with 100 A.D. The author has an ambition to publish the life of Priyadarshin and Mahavira and thirty volumes of Encyclopedia Jainica. Absolute truth will persist in spite of a torrent of diverse criticism passing through various vicissitudes and will claim a

dispassionate reading. The author gives an account of the foreign races that invaded India including Gardabha dynasty and furnishes us fresh details of Patanjali, Pusyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Kalki and the part played by Demetrius and Menander in bringing about the downfall of the Sungas. The repercussions of Aryans and foreign civilizations *inter se* and on Indian life have been duly described. Mathura and Taxila are dealt with afresh in the appendix. The Abhiras, the Triktas, the Osvalas, the Srimals and the Gurjaras—information about them is given in a connected narrative. Chapters are devoted to the different eras that were founded in ancient India. Their origin and duration and maps showing the territorial extents of various kings and illustrations of ancient sculptures and coins are also to be found. The author has relied for his work on legends, traditions, inscriptions, coins and contemporary incidents narrated in historical treatises of other countries wherever they are available. He has drawn inferences from the skeleton of chronology in the wake of Vincent Smith. At p. 15 of the Introduction, he says if it be proved that during the time when Priyadarśī was on the throne of Magadha, the five kings whose names are stated in R. E. XIII of Priyadarsin, were ruling over particular territories, that during the same time particular Ceylonese kings were on the throne and that Si-Hu-Wang, the great Chinese emperor built the famous gigantic wall during the same time, the logical conclusion would be that they were all contemporaries. Hence Aśoka and Priyadarsin according to the author were not one and the same individuals. It may not be possible for us to agree with many of his conclusions but none can withhold credit for the remarkable industry and endeavour which has been exhibited in this work. The illustrations are excellent and the maps are very helpful.

S. S.

History of Madras and Ananda Ranga Pillai—The 'Pepys' of French India. By Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A. Published by Messrs. P. Varadachary & Co. Madras.

RAO SAHEB SRINIVASACHARI has devoted many years to the study of the history of Madras—Madras has assumed a

topical importance also now—which he has traced from the earliest beginnings to the present day. Parts of Madras are old while the city itself is of modern growth. The pre-historic remains and objects of archeological and architectural interest are many. The land on which the city is built is of post-tertiary formation. The Cauvery River is one of the most prominent features of the City and it is crossed by numerous bridges in its winding course. The hot months do not approach that of Northern India, the heat being mitigated by the cool winds of the sea while the cooler months are never really cold. Fort St. George is the centre from which the city has expanded on all sides with the sea on the East. In the neighbourhood of Madras stone implements of the paleolithic age are found suggesting that apparently in pre-historic times there was a mighty river flowing through a valley in the region to the north-west of the city where the Kortaiyar now flows and in this valley pre-historic man of the paleolithic and neolithic ages might have flourished and Bruce-Foote refers to a few cave-like rock-shelters of primitive man. The sarcophagi tombs at Pallavaram marked by plain and unornamented pottery have led to the conclusion that these graves were possibly of the neolithic age. There are finds at the cemetery at Kilpauk and other places which are supposed to be of the iron age. Urn burials are referred to in ancient Tamil literature as a living custom and Madras may easily become the mecca of Indian Pre-historians. Coming to historical times, the ancient temple at Triplicane is of the eighth century and that at Mylapore has been closely associated with the Portuguese town of San Thome from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There appears to have been an early Jaina temple dedicated to the Tirthankara Neminatha which was later on swallowed up by the encroaching sea. Mylapore served as a port for the Pallava kingdom of Kānci. The historical and cultural importance of Madras and its neighbourhood is a continuous one and did not disappear with the disappearance of the Hindu dominion of South India and Madras is one of the principal fields of European commercial enterprise. A broad marina along the sea-front extending to over two miles from San Thome to Fort St. George has a most attractive feature where all Madras pours out of an evening on foot,

on bicycles, in carriages and in motors, to feel the bracing and cool evening breeze that blows in from the sea. Though Madras is not the earliest British settlement in India, it constitutes their first territorial acquisition. The story of Madras abounds with the history of South India and Professor Srinivassachari is entitled to our gratitude for this excellent work on the capital of South India.

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI the famous coutier of Dupleix, has left documents of the greatest value for the history of Pondicherry and of the French in India in his diary. It contains descriptive sketches about the personalities with whom he came into contact and furnishes rich and precise information about the Government of Pondicherry, about Dupleix and his successors. He was a well-known public man whose diary was published many years ago in several volumes. The existence of that diary was unknown till 1846 and the Secretary of the Historical Records of French India, M. Gallois Montburn, was responsible for bringing it into the hands of the English authorities as we have remarked in our review of the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Prof. Dodwell, who edited the diary, in his introduction to the last volume of the English translation said that though no one would ever take the trouble of reading the diary for its own sake, still it would be valuable as dealing with a particularly critical period during which not only Ranga Pillai rose and fell but the struggle has decided whether India was to be dominated from Paris or London. Chapters in this diary of the Pepys of French India make a fascinating study and the diary is one of our chief authorities for the period of which it gives a march of momentous events in India with an almost photographic fidelity. The whole period is instinct with energy and vital experience. The tempestuous personality of Dupleix moves with epic majesty through the intrigues of Indian rulers, through rapine and disorder fomented by adventurers and free-lances which are here recalled. The organisation of this remarkable person, his strange and enigmatic personality, the gravest defect in his character and administration are all brought out without omitting even the smallest detail. He watched the lights and shadows of sentiment and feeling among the neighbouring rulers

with the consummate skill of a supreme artist in intrigue. Of the men and circumstances of the time, Ranga Pillai was a close and interested observer; and he was the only Indian observer whose views are directly positively known to us. Ananda Ranga Pillai was better informed on political matters than any other Indian whom the court at Pondicherry could have kept. Canda Sahib's thoughts upon Dupleix or Yusuf Khan's opinions on the campaigns of Lally would have revealed important aspects of the conflict. But they would hardly have displayed more fully and closely the Indian attitude towards events which were so deeply to influence the course of modern Indian history. For a considerable time, Ranga Pillai was the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community and the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. His business was to know all that was going forward in the Indian quarter, to learn the news that the bankers' agents received from their correspondents, to watch the course of trade and feel accurately the pulse of sentiment. For a considerable time, he was the Foreign Secretary to the Governor translating letters or getting them translated, suggesting appropriate answers, minutiae of Oriental etiquette and himself corresponding with distant ministers. His journal does not contain empty rumours or mere bazaar news but the political information he gives is of great value. The public is grateful to Rao Sahib for a handy compendium of this voluminous diary.

S. S.

The Early History of Ceylon—By G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D. Published by the Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-12-0 paper bound, Rs. 2-8-0, cloth bound.

THE frontispiece of the work has a facsimile of the Sasa Jataka, and the illustrations include a fresco of the Jetavana Vihara, Polanaruwa. Mahāvathā and Dipavarsa are the historical traditions for the Island of Ceylon, and in Pali characters. The illustrations are excellent types of the architecture of Ceylon and are drawn from all parts of the island country. The landing of Vijaya with his seven hundred followers is said to be the first human

settlement though the story of man in Ceylon goes back to far earlier times. Owing to its geographical situation Ceylon contains mostly people of Indian origin and they exercised a great influence on its history in every way. Though separated from the mainland of India, on all parts it is closely linked with India. Yet the influence of Buddhism and the fact that it has been cut off from the mainland by a narrow stretch of sea has helped it to maintain a continuity in its civilization much better than any part of India itself where great invasions and upheavals have often shattered the vestiges of its ancient and glorious past. Theravāda Buddhism which made its way to Ceylon in the third century B.C. has maintained itself in spite of many vicissitudes and it still claims more adherents than any other religion in the island. Lying midway between Europe and the Far East, the island came into close contact with traders from the East and West. The island is referred to by *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. The earliest settlers of Ceylon were Veddas who left no written record and about whom very little is known or can be said with any accuracy though they belong to the same racial stock as pre Dravidian jungle tribes of South India such as the Irulas and the Kurumbars, and are also apparently racially connected with the Todas of the Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, and the Australian aborigines and coming in the earliest stages of man's development. They made no contribution to the civilization of Ceylon and their only service lay in the help they rendered in forming the Sinhalese race. Dr. Seligmann is of opinion that the Bandara cult among the Kandyans, which consists of making offerings to the deceased chiefs and prominent ancestors, is a remnant of the Veda practice of propitiating the dead. The Aryans who entered India long before 1000 B.C. migrated to Ceylon from the Northern parts of India by about the fifth century B.C. thus beginning an important stage in the history of Ceylon. They introduced iron, brought agriculture and the system of village government which persists even to the present day. The other stock of people were the Dravidians. There is no doubt that Buddhism had spread into Ceylon evidently from the first century B.C. and Polonaruwa, Anuradhapura, Aluvihare and many other parts contain evidences of Buddhism and marvellous examples

of the Buddhist art which it has left behind. Aśoka sent a missionary to Ceylon in the third century B.C. and King Devarampiya Tissa ruler of Anurādhapura welcomed him and got constructed countless structures at Anurādhapura itself. Buddhism brought about a certain sense of unity among the people of the island. The Āndhras were followers of Buddhism giving every encouragement to Buddhism and their activities can be seen from the remains of the dagobas and sculptures at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakopā on the river Krṣṇa and the famous halls cut out of the rock at Kārla, Nasik and Ajanta in western India, and Nāgārjuna the great Buddhist teacher of the second century A.D. gave the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism a definite form. The author has given a careful analysis and an accurate account of the history of Ceylon in every department of life and activity. The map of Anurādhapura is very interesting. It is one of the finest ruins of Ceylon and to it I have referred in detail in my *Excavations at Anurādhapura*, QJMS. Vol. X pp. 331-352. The book is complete with a list of kings and dates, bibliography and index.

A History of Tirupati. Vol. I.—By Rajasevāsakta Dewan Bahadur

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Published by Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Committee, Madras.

We are told that from 1904 Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was gathering material for the History of Tirupati which he has now brought out at the request of the Devasthanam Committee. The records of the British Government concerning the sacred shrine, now-a-days attracting thousands of pilgrims, have not been made available to him with the result that the account is not up-to-date from the time of the British contact with this temple. Prior to the time of the Ojas, the Doctor has not found any inscription and explains their absence as due to the inaccessibility of Vengadam, that is Tirupati in those days, it being a subject of frontier disputes between the Āndhras and the Tamils at one period and the Pallavas and the Cālukyas in the succeeding period and the practice of recording gifts in inscriptions not being then in vogue. From such scanty material as can be gathered from the

Sangam literature, Purāṇas, works of Śrivaishṇava Ālvārs and acāryas, Venkātāchala Itihāsa and inscriptions of the fourteenth century and later periods, the author presents to the public an interesting account touching the antiquity of Tirupati and its presiding deity. Himself a Śrivaishṇava devotee of the sacred hill, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar carefully eschews his personal leanings and tells us that at one time its worship savoured of Jainism and Buddhism and later of Śaivism until Śri Rāmānujācārya restored, regulated and made rules for worship of the idol as Viṣṇu. Barring some fanatic outbursts of this or that Ālvar or acārya the account shows that Tirupati image has been all along worshipped both by the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Mysore has played no mean part in strengthening the hands of Śri Rāmānujācārya in making Vengadam an out-and-out vaiṣṇava centre. The Devasthanam committee could not, we can confidently say, have found one more competent than the learned Doctor, combining in himself a historian of repute and an ardent devotee of the holy shrine for undertaking and bringing out for the information of the public a history which is at once readable, accurate and scholarly.

P. S. L.

History of the British Residency in Burma. 1826-1840—By W. S. Desai.

Published by the University of Rangoon. Price Rs. 8 or Sh. 12

THIS volume gives a graphic account of the abuse and humiliation to which the British Residents at the Burmese capital J. Crawford, Henry Burney and R. Benson were subjected by the two Burmese kings, Bagyindaw and Tharrawaddy during the short period of nearly fifteen years between the conclusion of the first and the outbreak of the second Burmese wars. Further, we get an insight into the Anglo-Burmese and Indo-Burmese relations necessitating the urgent establishment of a more extensive influence and control over the Burmese court and putting up with anything short of actual aggression or national insult. The efforts of these officers to avoid war and at the same time to protect the British subjects during the reign of these two Burmese monarchs deserve all praise. The suggestion of the Residency to destroy all boats on the Salween River giving refuge to the Burmese robbers committing

robbery in the British territory incited by the Burmese government to keep the English in a state of alarm and disquietude was not acted upon by the Government of India with the inevitable result that trouble was brewing until the Second Burmese War broke out in 1852. The matter is well arranged and reads like a story.

P. S. L.

Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I. Social and Economic—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Published by the University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

MR. DATTA, a talented scholar and a medalist, has dealt, in this first volume of the Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, with the different aspects of the social life of the country and has endeavoured a study of the economic condition of the Bengal Subah in the middle of the eighteenth century. Some hitherto unpublished sources have been used for the first time. The book is divided into four chapters. Education, its ideas and institutions, position of women, the laws and customs relating to marriage, the variety of dresses, use of ornaments by men on ceremonial days, dress of Hindustani men and women, and the relationship between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are all mentioned in the first chapter. In the second are described English Factories and investments giving us many new facts of considerable importance from the economic standpoint. The commercial relationship of Bengal with the other countries in Asia and elsewhere forms the subject-matter of the third chapter while in the last the several aspects of internal economic condition of Bengal under five different sections are clearly brought out. The appendices, bibliography and the index add to the value of the book. We look forward to the other volumes.

R. H. R.

A Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Volume II, Part I, Second and revised edition—Edited by K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, Published under the authority of the Pudukkottai Durbar.

WE have in this Manual of Pudukkottai a general history of the State from the early times to the sixth century A.D. and the burial

urns and dolmens of proto-history and pre-history periods in section I with settlements of castes and tribes in section II followed by a historical account up to modern times leading to the formation of the Pudukkottai State itself. Natural caverns and rock shelters at Sittannavasal and elsewhere in Pudukkottai indicate the earliest abode of man in the neo-lithic and iron ages probablising the conjecture of the late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar that this was the home of the Paleolithic man and the best district for the study of the burial customs of the neo-lithic man. The earliest lithic record in the State is of the second or third century B.C. in the natural cavern on the hill at Sittannavasal in Aśokan-Bṛāhmaṇi characters of the type peculiar to South India. *Pānini* was one of the twelve divisions of the tainil country lying between Pandinādu in the south and Pulnād in the north. Some Pāṇḍya and Cōla kings of the Sangam age and the government of the Sangam period are all dealt with in this work. The seventh to ninth centuries mark the ascendency of the Pāṇḍyas who extended their conquests much beyond their traditional boundary of the Vellar, far into the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and as far north as Kongunādu in the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. Pudukkottai contributed to the material growth of the empire of the Cōlas of the Vijayalaya line, one of the greatest Hindu empires known to history. The king of that empire had soldiers, commanders, administrators, revenue officials and surveyors and merchants who carried on trade all over India and the Far East. The civil wars between Vira Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya paved the way to the expedition of Mallik Kafur to Madura thereby marking a beginning of the decline of the second Pāṇḍyan Empire. After its revival the Hoysalas, however, had exercised control over parts of the State till they were defeated by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in about 1251. Ballala III tried to re-establish the Hoysala power but the work was stopped on his death in the battle of Kannanur at the hands of Ghaiyas-ud-din in 1342. The subsequent history is culled from various works including the Mysore Gazetteer. The making of the State is clearly elucidated and the account is up-to-date.

Pre-Buddhist India—By Ratilal N. Mehta, M.A. With a foreword by Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J. Published by the Examiner Press, Bombay, Price Rs. 15.

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA is a political survey from the Vedic period down to the time of the Buddha and the administrative, economic, social and geographic conditions of ancient India during the two centuries immediately before the Buddha's time called the Mahajanapada period compiled from about five hundred and forty-seven Jātaka stories.

In this systematic and connected story of Pre-Buddhist India, in the "Dark Ages of India", the author has let the starlight of the Jātakas to dispel the darkness in an interesting, critical and impartial account.

When confronted by the Dāsarata Jātaka and the Rāmākyāṇa versions of Rāma, the author adopts with Winternitz the view that at the time the Tripitaka came into being there was no Rāma Epic as yet and that it was created later by Vālmīki from old ballads then extant. But concerning the tale of the Five Pāṇḍavas he lets sentiment sway him before discussion or argument, so that he characterises the Jātaka as a fabrication prompted by the compiler's zeal to decry womankind, though there is no clear evidence concerning the original tale, the steps by which it was finally converted into a sort of national encyclopædia of tradition, morals and religion and the date when it first took that shape. Further, this epic is not behind the Jātakas since we find in some parts of the poem all action is suspended for religious edification or long discourses on morality. By resorting to this method of fitting the Jātaka version with the Hindu tradition, he weeds out a lot of material as of no historical value and has appended towards the end of the section of political history a long list of the names of forgotten kings leaving the task of identification to other scholars.

A grouping of the Jātakas in a chronological order would have enhanced the value of the book and facilitated the task of tracing the process of amalgamation of the two races, the Dravidians and the Āryans, which was going on during the period covered by this work. In his foreword, Father Heras no doubt hints at the

importance of this subject but thinks it to fall clearly outside the scope of Mr. Metha's present work. That the Jātakas championed the emancipation of caste held by the Āryan tradition cannot be ignored. The Samkhapala Jātaka (No. 524 in Cowell's Jātaka) exalts Duyyodhana, Prince of Maghada, to the rank of a Bodhisatta. All lovers of ancient culture and students of proto-Indian history are laid under a deep debt of gratitude to the author,

P. S. L.

**Guide to Archaeological Galleries and Illustrations of Indian Sculpture :
Mostly Southern—By F. H. Gravely, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B. and
C. Sivaramamurthy, M.A. Published by the Madras Government
Museum, Madras. Price As. 8 and Re. 1-8-0, respectively.**

IT is a pleasure to go through the archaeological galleries of the Madras Government Museum. The Introduction by Gravely and Sivaramamurthy and other Curators to South Indian Temple architecture and sculpture is excellently got up and helpful. In the guide there is an illustrative map of ancient and medieval Indian political geography. The Introduction begins with the stone implements first rough and then more highly polished and proceeds to consider the metal ones and then the early sculptures of the Amarāvati school and then the Grāco-Buddhist school, the early indigenous sculpture of the Mauryas, Sungas, Āndhras and Kuśāgas and the Guptas followed by the South Indian temple architecture in its various designs. The development of corbel, pavilion and niche in the Tamil temple-architecture is well illustrated: so also the star-shaped tower from the Cālukyan country by means of diagrams. Architectural objects supplementing the photographic illustrations of South Indian temple architecture as far as possible have been grouped together in the middle section of the second Hindu gallery. Sculptures and coins are also included in the guide with an appendix on iconography. The illustrations of Indian sculptures are mostly southern.

S. S.

Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar During Samvat 1933 and 1934 (1936-38 A. D.)—By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Saliani, C.I.E., M.A. Director of Archaeological and Historical Research, Jaipur State. Price As. 8.

POSSIBILITIES of archaeological researches in the Jaipur State are vast and this report, though small, is a useful book of information and deserves to be bound in a more permanent form. There is a large number of sites dating from the third century B.C. awaiting exploration. The ancient site near Sambhar was first noticed by Colonel T.F. Helly who found the mound to be honey-combed, apparently used for scratching, lettering or decorative patterns on the surface of the pottery jar, ornaments of Conch bangles, ornamental pottery jars, terracotta-figurines among which, the figure of an ape seated on a tripod deserves special mention, tiny copper coins, beads of carnelian, and a pottery seal with seven impressions. There is a legend in Prakrit in Brähmi characters of the second century, B. C. of Indrasarman. In house V, fragments of pottery representing the goddess Durga slaying a buffalo are found. Altogether 3,460 antiquities were registered including an enormous variety of objects but pottery, terracotta and shell objects and more than two thousand coins, including six silver punch-marked coins, some gold articles, copper objects, iron objects, iron dice, about two thousand figures and moulded plaques and reliefs of the Gupta period belonging to the group of Umamahesvara. A number of coins presumably of the Mauryan kings of the third and second centuries B. C. have been discovered along with a considerable number of portable antiquities in Rairh. At Bärnala, two complete yûpas or sacrificial stone pillars were unearthed. One of them contains an inscription of an interesting feature for the use of a hitherto unknown form of the sign for the numeral 300 consisting of an ordinary sign for 100 with an open triangle to the right of its vertical stroke. It is a very valuable report which requires careful attention. From the third century B.C. the place continued to flourish till the tenth century A.D. when presumably due to the drying up of the adjacent fresh water lake it was deserted. With the help of coins and other materials, six successive strata have been located and their approximate dates

ascertained. The illustrations are plentiful and repay careful study.

S. S.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State for the year ending with 31st July 1938—By Jnanaratna Dr. Hirananda Sāstri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, Baroda. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

EXCAVATIONS were conducted at Gohilwad timber near Amerli and a noteworthy find of the year was a clay die bearing the legend Sri Sailaditya in later Gupta script referring apparently to the brother of Kharagraba I, an old ruler of Valabhbhai, the Vāla of the present times. Excavations of the Sabasraṅga site at old Patna during the year yielded interesting results. Sixty-four inscriptions were copied. The earliest of them is on a short piece of pottery written in early Brāhma script of the second century B. C. The Director of Archaeological Researches has been recognised as a post-graduate teacher in Ancient Indian History and Culture on the staff of the Baroda College preparing graduates for the Doctor's Degree of the Bombay University, furnishing an example to the other universities in this matter of research in Indian History and Culture. Cromlechs and dolmens of various sizes and shapes were discovered during the year. The date of the cromlechs would be important as we find a rusty iron sword and an iron dagger here amongst other things. It is interesting to note that attempts are being made to get the people of the State to interest themselves in Archaeology.

S. S.

The Progress of Archaeology in India During the Past Twenty-five Years.—By Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. (for departmental use.)

MR. DIKSHIT, Director-General of Archaeology for India, has published for departmental use this small, handy and useful brochure on the progress of archaeology in India during the past twenty-five years, under the headings of excavations, museums, conservation, epigraphy, numismatics, archaeology in Indian States and publications. Archaeology in the present century is due

to the determined energy and love of antiquity of Lord Curzon who initiated measures for the preservation of ancient monuments. The Director-General of Archaeology in India, Sir John Marshall devoted a life of arduous toil to epigraphical studies, for the preservation of archaeological monuments, for the establishment and development of museums and for the introduction of systematic excavation in India but, as Mr. Dikshit remarks, till 1912 real work in this direction could not proceed even beyond the birth of Buddha. New light on ancient civilization was thrown by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in 1924, quickly transforming the general conception of Indian archaeology, heralding a new boom period. The pre-historic survey of Sind provided scope for research vast in proportion and enterprising in the results which it yielded. Sir Aurel Stein has provided us a treasure-house of Central Asian antiquities. Indian monuments are preserved carefully from the vandalism of visitors. The discovery of the Maski rock edict of Asoka revolutionised the hitherto current notions and fixed the identity of Asoka with dāvānāmpriya Priyadarśīrāja. Pusyamitra Senapati the founder of the Sunga dynasty is mentioned to have overthrown the Maurya supremacy by an inscription on a stone slab at the door of a temple at Ayodhya discovered in 1924. The Nagari inscription in the Udaipur State testifies to the prevalence at an early date in the pre-Christian times of the worship of Sathkarṣapa and Vāsudēva. The earliest known lithic record in Kharoṣṭhi is a relic casket of Menander, the well-known Indo-Greek Buddhist sovereign who lived in the second century B.C. A very remarkable epigraph of 1927, the earliest inscription dated in the Vikrama Era, records the performance of the *Sasthirātra* sacrifice by one Śāktigupaguru. The inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda bearing known dates and kings furnishes very valuable additional information confirming the adherence of Brāhmaṇical rites on the part of the males and ladies of the royal house. A copper plate of the Vākāṭaka queen throws a decisive light on the Vākāṭaka chronology suggesting that Dēvagupta was another name of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II. Dravidian epigraphy is a specialised branch and contains over 15,000 stone inscriptions, copied and reported, making a contribution to our

knowledge of ancient South Indian history, political, economical, social and religious very far reaching and wide in its extent. The genealogy of the Southern Pallavas has been fixed. The epigraphical publications are of considerable value. Indo-Muslim epigraphy is given in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. The study embracing coins belonging to the second century A.D. onwards has made considerable progress. In Indian States, Hyderabad has earned the gratitude of the artistic world by its treatment of the frescoes of Ajanta and its conservation of monuments. In Mysore, enormous work has been done since the formation of the Archaeological Department in 1890, perhaps one of the earliest and the most systematic of its kind in India. Likewise in Gwalior, Baroda, Jaipur and other States, important archaeological work has been undertaken along with periodical stock-taking.

S. S.

The State Museum, Pudukkottai; and A Report on the working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai, for Fasli 1349—(July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940).

THE State Museum, Pudukkottai, which was established in 1886 has published a report on its working. Considerable additions have been made during the year under report. A waste flake of cherty-flint marking an artifact of the pre-historic sculpture and some paintings and coins were added. The Jaina cave temple at Sittannavasal had its paintings cleaned. Paintings were found at Tirunayam Šiva temple of the seventh century suggesting and confirming our old belief that Pallava cave temples generally contained paintings. Two new inscriptions have been noticed during the year under report.

S. S.

Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila—By Mr. H. C. Walsh, c.s.i., m.a. (Retd. I.C.S.) and A Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins from Purnea—By P. N. Bhattacharyya. (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India Nos. 59 and 62 respectively, Price Rs. 24-10-0 or Sh. 38 and Rs. 5-6-0 or 8sh. 6d. respectively).

THE first is an examination of a hoard of nearly thirteen thousand coins found in the Bhir mound at Taxila. Mr. Walsh

says that there is no scientific classification of the punch-marked coins, because of the punch-marked coins bearing the same fixed group of marks and therefore constituting an identical coinage occurring in both rectangular and round forms and also because of the difference in the number of the marks on the reverse being merely an indication of the length of time that the particular coin had been in active circulation. Hence any classification based on the fixed groups of the marks on their obverse is entirely dependent on and differs from their serial order in their plates. The object of this detailed study is to place before the reader the actual coins so that he may draw his own inferences and arrive at his own conclusions which can be tested independently. One class of coins bears a group of five marks on the obverse. There is another class of early punch-marked coins which bear only four marks on the obverse found in an area suggesting their connection with the ancient pre-Mauryan kingdom of Kosala. The general characteristics of the punch-marked coins are mentioned on p. 4. The punch-marked coins came into currency in India from about the second millennium before the Christian era having an independent origin. V. A. Smith says that the fact that they have been found in one of the very ancient earthen tumuli at Lauriya Nandangarh in Champaran and in ancient tombs by the name of *Vindavakulis* in Coimbatore shows that they belong to very early ancient times. Some of these punch-marked coins have also been found in Mysore. Mr. Hemmy has attempted to show that the punch-marked coins agree with the indigenous Indus system of weight. There was public coinage issued by authority denoted in the flat pieces of silver and copper which are marked with various devices impressed on them with a punch and which formed the earliest coinage of India. The silver coins were cut off a sheet of metal with a chisel and similarly the copper ones off a thicker bar differing from the earliest coins of Asia-Minor and Greece which were a globule of metal specially cast for the purpose, impressed with a punch. They are oblong, square, oval or round in shape known by the names of *Kārṣṭapāṇa*, *Kūhūpāṇa*, *dharayā* and *pāṇī*. The Jātakas also speak of the punch-marked coins being current in the life-time of the Buddha thus carrying them back to

600 B.C. The silver must have been imported from the West. The marks on the reverse of these coins are different. The marks on the coins would be royal or state marks and not marks of individual money-changers or bankers as remarked in the *Arthashastra*. Coins would also appear to bear the royal marks as well as the separate marks indicating special coinage. One mark represents the state or local government, one the place where the coin was struck and perhaps one a religious mark recognising the presiding deity. Animals borne on punch-marked coins suggest early Dravidian civilization indicating the *lakṣāṇams* and the totems.

The punch-marked coins from Purnea which were brought to light in 1913 were enveloped in a mass of conglomerate lying in the bed of a small river which had been scoured by water. They were cleaned under the supervision of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and 1,703 are selected from 2,873, and they are broadly divided into three classes. Only one coin belongs to the first class. The second contains all which have one regular stamp and one or two counter marks on the reverse. Coins belonging to class III have got numerous small punches on the reverse but none of them have any connections with the obverse marks and this class is divided into several groups comprising numerous varieties. The reverse and obverse symbols and the references have been given in detail in both the reports to aid the reader for study and identification.

S. S.

Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy for the years ending with 31st March 1936 and 31st March 1937.—Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi. Price Rs. 5-8-0 or 8 sh. 6d. and Rs. 7-8-0 or 11 sh. 6d. respectively.

THE propaganda for the preservation of sculptures and inscriptions has borne fruit in many cases and a sentimental regard for the old habit of applying chunam and colour wash to valuable monuments is being gradually abandoned. It is difficult to say whether white or colour wash of monuments have been of considerable disadvantage though its removal disfigures the image. In Agnigundala in the Vinukonda Taluk, Guntur District, was a

big dolmens in a field composed of huge unknown rocks and in another village were found ancient burials confirming Sewell's information about the existence of dolmens in this village (*List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 67). In Nagavi in the Gudig Taluk and Agadi in the Haveri Taluk of the Bombay Karnatic are found traditions relating to Nāgārjuna for whom there is actually a temple in Nagavi, whereas the forest of Agadi is largely associated with him and abounds in stone circles and burials of pre-historic times. The Jamadagni-Renuka cult is popular among a section of the non-Brahmins in the Konkan and Karnatak regions. Banavasi the centre of Buddhist and Jaina cultures in pre-Christian and early Christian eras in the North Kanara district is advised to be marked out for excavation as likely to yield important finds. One of the earliest inscriptions in Prakrit belongs to king Viṣṇukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarīpi. (*Lauder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1186. B. K. No. I23). The Madras Museum plates of Śrikanta Cōla are noticed and the text published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV. pp. 30 and 255ff and commented on. Hiranya-rāṣṭra in which the gift village was situated in the Muṭṭipadu plates must have included the northern and western parts of the Nellore district. The rāṣṭra was apparently named after the clan Hiranyakas who are mentioned in the Nāgārjunakonda Prakrit epigraphs under the name Hiranyakā. A copper plate grant of Vira-Nopāmba Chakravartin, coming from the Dharwar district is spurious forming an addition to the forgeries of the period. A provisional genealogy of the Eastern Gangas is made from the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman, son of Dvēṣdravarman, but the correctness of the genealogy will depend upon future discoveries though every attempt is made to verify existing records. Sāmba-viśaya is identified with the modern village of Palagara of the Bobbili taluk. The influence of Tamil culture in the temple life of the Telugu country is mentioned as being due to the influx of Tamilian ideas with this Telugu tract coming in the wake of the fusion of Cālukyan and Cōla crowns in the person of the Cālukya-Cōla king Kulottunga Cōla I. Tamilian influence spread to the Eastern Ganga country also as a result of Cōdaganga's father Rājarāja's

marriage with Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājendra-Cōla whose conquest of the Ganga country must have laid the foundation for the coming together of the Cōla and Ganga royalties and cultures. Some inscriptions in Chidambaram show that lands were purchased by the donors not in their own name from the original owner nor in the name of the temple to which the endowment was made but in the name of some different individual, apparently because the donor liked to be anonymous. A record of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I refers to a Hoysala invasion of the Tamil country apparently corresponding to 1239 when Virasomeśvara was the Hoysala king for he styles himself as the uprooter of the Pāṇḍyas or the elevator of the Pāṇḍya race having been hostile to the Pāṇḍyas in the first instance and having become their friend and relation later being referred to as *mamadigal*. Appendix E gives a list of stone inscriptions in the Bombay Karnāṭak copied during the year 1935-36 and the information is welcome. Number 21 a herostone built into the wall of Lakṣmeśvara taluk office refers to the mourning of the people over the death of Kampila and Sidila-Bomma and mentions Dīḍi, whereas the fourth slab in the same place refers to a Kālacurya king (*sāh*) kāma, the year being apparently 1179 A.D.

IN the report for 1937 is included the notice of a Śiva temple at Madugala containing grey granite pillars bearing carvings of a half-lotus design as in Buddhist marble pillars and having short inscriptions in the archaic script of the period ranging between the third and the seventh centuries A.D. apparently brought from elsewhere and fixed there. The Vāliyampotti hill near Tēpkāsi in the Tirunelveli district contains old burial-urns and other objects. At Vayalpād in the Chittoor district were found well-preserved pre-historic stone circles and oblong burial chambers in the centre formed by slabs. Pre-historic remains were also found in abundance in several villages of the Punganoor taluk. At Reptālā in the Guntur district stone cists were found. Among the rock-cut temples at Kuppakkudi in the Tiruppattur taluk of the Ramnad district, the earliest inscription found in cave no. 2 is of Vatteṭuttu label of about the eighth century A.D. (Number thirty-seven of 1909 giving the name of the shrine as Machili chchuram).

The cave temple at Pillaiyārpatti which is two miles from that place (Kungankudi) has an early inscription of about the seventh century A.D. The temple is different from that of the generality of the rock-cut temples of these parts. About seventeen miles from Tirupputtur at Tirukkalakkudi are five natural cave temples. In general appearance they bear a marked resemblance to the rock caverns of Madurā from which Brāhma inscriptions of about the second century B.C. were copied testifying to their having served as winter resorts of the Jaina and Buddha monks of those times. The rock-cut Kakōlanātha temple on the hill has sculptures of Agastya and Pulastyā. In Cōjavāndipuram there are antiquities of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. The Kōyil or Periyakōyil, or the temple *par excellence* has been the loadstar of the Vaiṣṇava spiritual aspirations from quite an early past. The Śrīraṅgam temple belonging to the class of the Uttamottama class of temples containing a range of seven prākāras running round the garbhagṛha with separate subsidiary shrines for all the minor parivāradēvatas as prescribed in the Āgamas is described as being sculpturally rather poor, while iconographically the temple offers a wide scope for study, having an almost complete gallery of images for worship according to the Vaiṣṇvāgama. The earliest inscription collected during the year comes from Gurazala in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district, written in Brāhma characters of the third century A.D. and couched in a local dialect of the Prākrit of the period. Purisadata recorded the gift of land called Bhāduka made by the lord of Halmapūra to the Buddha for the increase of his life on the thirteenth day in the sixth fortnight of grīksma. Another Prākrit inscription in Brāhma characters is secured at Rāntala. Mūlāvāsa was a name for an ancient Buddhist centre and it was held in great sanctity by the Buddhists all over the world in the early centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of the third century B.C. found at the Amarāvara temple at Amarāvati in Brāhma characters records a gift made by a householder to the mahāchetiya, evidently the mahāchetiya of the other inscription at Amarāvati and Mūlāvāsa in this also refers to the Buddhist temple at Amarāvati. This inscription furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to Mūlāvāsa which probably lent

its sanctifying name to *Mahāchetiya* of the place. In number 293 which bears a date in Śaka 1165, it is stated that Paripūrṇaśiva, son of Viśvēvara a pupil of Dharmasiva made a gift of land for the merit of his father and he figures as a donor in two other epigraphs. Viśvēvarasīva is called the guru of Gajapati-dēva Mahārāja. Number 94 of 1917, the Malakāpuram inscription says that the Kākatiya Gajapati was initiated into the Śaiva faith by this *dikṣāguru*. The lineage of Śaiva teachers of the Gōlaki-maṭha from Sadbhāva-Śambhu to Viśvēvarasīva covering seven generations with a short interval between Varna-Śambhu and Kirtisambhu is now added the name of Paripūrṇaśiva, son of Viśvēvara who figures for the first time in the inscriptions of Śaka 1165 and Śaka 1174. It appears that Viśvēvaracāya had another son by name Śānta-Śambhu who also figures as Śānta-Śiva in a record number 272 of 1905 of Vijayagandagopala, in which he is called the disciple of Rājagurudēva, evidently Viśvēvara-Śiva presiding over the famous Gōlki-maṭha, whose spiritual influence extended over three lakhs of villages. No. 307 belonging to Rudrāmbā is dated Śaka 1193 and refers to Uttama Śiva as the son of Rājagurudēva apparently Viśvēvara Śiva, himself. Śrikapṭha-Śiva apparently of the Gōlki-Maṭha figures in the record of Rudra-dēva dated in Śaka 1192 and 1193 (Nos. 245 and 188 of 1905) and it is not known in what way he had connection with the Uttama-Śivan figuring in number 307 of Śaka 1193, apparently Viśvēvara was the *dikṣāguru* of the Kākatiyas. The teachers of the Gōlki-Maṭha appeared to have moved to south India some time early commanding considerable influence in the Telugu country at least from the time of the teacher Dharmasiva, pupil or Vimala-Śiva, who is said to have built a Maṭha at Tripurāntakam in Śaka 1169. An inscription from Valliyānūr belonging to Perullijingadēva confirms the surname of the late Mr. Venkayya as early as 1906. A Brahman merchant belonging to the foreign sāvāsi-vyāpāri community called Sākala-Bhatta, son of Āhale Bhatta, of the Sākala-gōtra figures in No. 70 dated the eighth year of Rāmanātha as the donor of a flower garden to God Ranganātha. The sāvāsis are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Bombay-Karnātak as having migrated from Kāmītra, but they do not figure there as merchants.

Devaraya II of Vijayanagara received a complaint of the high-handed action of the officers and he enquired into it and checked it. The material is accumulating for the history of the South Indian dynasties and we hope that under the patronage of the governments and the universities of these parts a chair for history will be instituted for this purpose in each of these universities.

S. S.

Proceedings of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum December 1937.—Published under the auspices of the Government of Travancore.

THIS huge volume contains a mine of useful information concerning the Oriental Literature of India. The General President of the Conference was Dr. F. W. Thomas, the well-known Orientalist. Ninety institutions sent delegates; the proceedings continued for four days; and the Numismatic Society of India also held its meetings at the same time. The work of the conference and its discussions were being broadcast. Though literary scholarship and culture in this scientific age may be said to have somewhat fallen on evil days, it is most gratifying to record that rulers and governments have generously continued their enthusiastic and benevolent patronage and all possible financial assistance, without which it could not possibly flourish. Religion, architecture, art, painting, sculpture and drama in India as elsewhere are true expressions of the sciences and philosophy of the people and Sankara and Agastya toured northern and southern India and Indian culture spread all over the world. The Oriental Conference stands for the exposition of true Indian culture with a view to that inner unity which, may we hope, shall transcend diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners, sect and religious experience?

S. S.

Bhagalpur Report—By Francis Buchanan. Published by the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Patna. Price Rs. 12.

AN account of the district of Bhagalpur by Buchanan published in its entirety brings to a close this endeavour of the Behar and

Orissa Research Society initiated in 1916. Dr. Buchanan visited this district in 1810-11. There was no place in India which Buchanan did not visit and of which he did not give a detailed description concerning the topography, architecture, religion, general civic condition of the people with economic, historical and traditional accounts available. The Society cannot but be thankful to the Patna Law Press which printed the report free of charge and to many others who have helped in its publication. Referring to the division of fifty-six territories of the Bharatakhanda found in Buchanan's account of Mysore he says that what is given in the Mysore report is adopted by the Bramins of the south, but in different parts of the country the division seems to differ greatly. Saktisanggam Tantra used in Behar differs very essentially from that of the south, twenty-three of the divisions mentioned in each list being unnoticed in the other. The cosmographies of the Hindus have undergone many changes. Svarodaya is more ancient than that detailed in the fifth chapter of the Śribhagavat, is said to have been originally composed by God Śiva but was revealed to mankind by Narapati and in it this Bharatakhanda is represented as occupying the back and members of the tortise, instead of the southern corner of Jambudvipa, the whole of which according to Bhagavat, occupies only the centre of the tortise's back, the extension of knowledge in the time of Vyasa having rendered the old doctrine totally untenable. Dr. Buchanan gives detailed information culled from the Asiatic Researches and says that there were at least seven kings of the family of Karna who were the most powerful Indian Princes of their time, who began to reign at no long interval after the destruction of the dynasty of Candragupta enjoying a most extensive sovereignty until the middle of the seventh century in this district and contributing to Magadha becoming the most eminent province in India. Many of these traditions, as well as historical records mentioned by Buchanan are inaccurate and misleading but considering the time when he worked at them one cannot but admire the knowledge and enthusiasm which inspired and throughout characterised Dr. Buchanan's labours. The Karna Rājas were undoubtedly Andhras belonging to the country near Hyderabad.

Two hot springs of Sitakunda four miles east from Munger are mentioned. A sect of Śiva-Nārāyaṇa is also mentioned by some books. They consider Śiva-Nārāyan omnipresent and always existent and as an incarnation for the instruction of mankind. The information is detailed on every matter available at the time and useful to students of early history.

S. S.

Eclipse Cult in the Vēdas, Bible and Koran—By Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Chamundi Extension, Mysore. Price Re. 1.

THIS supplement to Drapsa by Dr. R. Shama Sastri who needs no introduction to our readers is to be welcomed. The vēdic ritual begins with sacrifices on New and Full Moon days with a fast on the fourteenth and twenty-ninth lunar days. Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Antyavatsara, Idvatsara and Idāvatsara the cycle of five luni-solar years with two intercalary months is one fourth of the big cycle of nineteen to twenty luni-solar years with eight intercalary months. This cycle is called Ayodhya. To distinguish the eight intercalary months from ordinary months the vēdic poets give different names to the solar deities as they were supposed to preside over the intercalary months. Dhāta, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Aśva, Bhaga, Indra and Māriānda were the names of the sons of Aditi. In the preface to his work Dr. Shama Sastri describes in detail how the cycle of seven sun-like suns called the Ādityas, the number of each cycle, the number of days each cycle comprises and how the numbers are referred to. The contents of each of the four chapters are given in detail and in the instructive introduction Dr. Shama Sastri refers to the topic of the eclipse and commences with the Āranyakā passage and ends with Savitṛ's war with Śambara in order to show how eclipses are generally described in the Vēdas. The Vēdic eclipse cycle is of one thousand days. In Chapter II mysticism of numbers is explained and the birth of the Asvins and epic myths are given in chapter III. In Chapter IV the Vēdas, the Bible and the Q'ran are referred to establishing that the thought and feeling of mankind are uniform all over the world. Science and religion are two special forms of thought and a close examination of the

history of all these religions seems to suggest a single or uniform source of thought underlying religious ideals. The age of the Vēdas is located at 3101 B.C. the information being furnished by Adhisamvatsara cycle of thirty-three lunar years called thirty-three Gods. The study is interesting but rather difficult and Dr. Shama Sastry has done his best to expound the information contained in the vēdic texts.

S. S.

Kāmsavaho—Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

KĀMSAVAHO, a prākṛt poem in the classical style of Rāma Papi-vāda, is edited for the first time with various readings, introduction and notes by Dr. Upadhye. The author was a genuine poet with a confident grip over his expression, who inherited the spirit of classical sanskrit authors, though belonging to the closing period of prākṛit literature. He has also written a commentary on the Prākṛta Prakāsa of Vararuci. The sūtras of Vararuci have helped the editor in overcoming the errors found in an early manuscript. Papivādas or Nambiaras form a caste in Malabar whose hereditary profession is to help the Cakkiars or the traditional actors of Kerala in the staging of Sanskrit plays. Papivāda or Nambiar was to play on the drum called Mizhavu and the drum was called papivāda giving rise to the caste. It appears that women of the Nambiar caste took the female parts in the plays, the Kūttu and Kūttiyātām. The male and female members of the family were well-versed in Sanskrit. The author is a eighteenth century poet whose works are found in three languages, Sanskrit, Marathi and Prākṛt. The present work is composed to celebrate the incident of the slaying of Kāmsa by Krṣṇa, the story, apparently, being taken from the Bhāgavatam. The poet's originality and scholarship are evident in the dramatic effect produced. Post-prākṛt was a living language in the eighteenth century. The prākṛt dialect of Kāmsavaho is said to be the Maharashtrian, the author himself belonging to the decadent period of Prākṛt literature. The editor believes that the author has added chāya to make his work intelligible even to those who do not possess a first-hand knowledge of Prākṛt.

S. S.

The Number of Rasas—By Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

DR. RAGHAVAN in this work draws his data from unpublished manuscripts as readily as he does from published works. As Prof. Hiriyanna says in his Foreword, the author has devoted much time to this study and his knowledge of the Rasas is so vast that his opinion is of special value and deserves the careful attention of scholars. Some great thinkers hold that there is one rasa ; others maintain that the rasas are many : the usual view is that there are eight rasas or nine if Śānta is added. All these views are examined by the author with the admissibility of Śānta as the ninth rasa in a comprehensive treatment both from the historical and aesthetic standpoints. Āīvaghosa's view that Śānta found expression in literature quite early is supported by Prof. Hiriyanna. The conception of rasa though dealt with chiefly in relation to poetry in this work, generally furnishes the criterion by which the worth of all forms of fine arts may be judged. Rasa is the very soul of poetry and drama. This subject matter was originally published in the form of articles in the Journal of Oriental Research and Dr. Raghavan has done well in publishing these together in the form of a book. A synopsis precedes the work where the advent of Śānta is mentioned with controversies over it and some peculiar and original views on it. The discussion of the several stāyi bhavas proposed for the Śānta rasa are also discussed. The Adyar Library is to be complimented on this excellent work.

S. S.

Mother and Mother's Thousand Names—Mai and Mai Sahasranama,
Vol. I. Parts I & II—By Markand R. Dholakia. Founder and
President, Mother's Lodge, Poona. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 3sh. 6d.

MARKAND R. DHOLAKIA is the Founder and President of the Mother's Lodge, an institute of members—sisters and brothers—whose very first religious belief is that we are, one and all, children of the same Almighty God conceived as mother. Mother is, of course, sexless and is the same as father. Mother is the ocean of infinite life and free without name or form. The basic belief of the

Mother's Lodge is unity of all religions. Its religious practices are ethical with emphasis on the cardinal points of morality. Liberty and freedom are objects dearly to be achieved and religion should be made to shed non-essentials and man should be free to select his own motto of progress and serve for his salvation. Religion should not be the cause of domination or prejudice but should be the embodiment of all that is good in everybody. The principle of the lodge is love and service. Like Essentialism this also contains considerable information on what is useful, what is necessary and what is to be. Mother is sarvamangala, sarvasvarūpi¹ and sarvasvatantri¹. Her thousand names are all familiar to us and the Mai and Mai Sahasranāma are given with increasing emphasis in this beautiful work.

S. S.

Economic Development, Vol. II.—By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Price Rs. 6.

The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress—By Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Price Rs. 7. Published by Messrs. Chukerberry Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. 15, College Square, Calcutta.

Problems in Politics—By Messrs. M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.T. and H. Krishna Rao, M.A. Published by the authors, University of Mysore, Mysore. Price Rs. 4.

ECONOMIC Development volume I by the same author first published in 1926 deals with post-war (1914-18) world movements in commerce, economic legislation and industrialism and technical education. Volume II is concerned with comparative Industrialism and its equation with special reference to economic India and it is dedicated to Ranade and Dutt, the pioneer economists of Modern India. The principles of control over foreign insurance companies, the remaking of the Reichsbank and the Banque de France, the Bank capitalism of young Bengal, the railway industry and commerce of India in international railway statistics, traces of rationalization in Indian business enterprise and the world-crisis in its bearing on the regions of the second and the first industrial revolutions are discussed.

In the Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress, the second of the book under review herein, we have a study in

the relations between Asia and Europe and America which challenged Asia for supremacy for about a century. Asia accepted the challenge in Port Arthur and since then from the military and scientific point of view there has been development in the Far East.

World events during these few years are ever before the thinking public and we do not know where we are, where we are going and what troubles and tribulations are in store for us. Hence, it would be difficult to prognosticate practical relations from a study in theory of our economic or political problems. Until the rule of law and peace on earth are established both individually and as a state as sacrosanct little can be gained. Mere study has no chance of life and backward civilizations and primitive races and culture will be driven to the wall. It is therefore necessary to study world problems from the point of view of an international family with an international background and the nationalisation of the main industries of the state. The individual liberty of man and freedom to think and act even with recognised restraints is receiving many a hard knock and political psychology is changing the world. The Nazi, with his totalitarian outlook, joins hands with the Facist and both together hobnob with the doctrines of Karl Marx transposed into a working system by Lenin and his more practical successor Stalin, the President of the Soviet Union. All Europe is threatened by the Hitlerite doctrine and the Jew is being turned out of Europe. Asia is shaken to its roots by it. Religion apart, humanity has never suffered as it is now suffering from the days of the Aryas. The ravages caused by two wars of this magnitude within one generation cannot be made up even in a century and the international organizations will have to suit themselves to the changing needs of the hour. These problems are well discussed in *Problems and Politics*. The works before us are very helpful for the pursuit of these studies.

S. S.

South Indian Celebrities, Vol. II—Sketches—by K. M. Balasubramanyam, Madras.

THIS volume contains sketches of eight well-known celebrities of modern India with several of whom we can claim personal acquaintance. Pen-pictures are well-done and we hope that before long the

author will add many more scholars and statesmen in South India to his list, e.g. Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the well-known industrially-minded Dewan of Mysore, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, the boldest and the most discussed Dewan of Travancore and certainly a great Statesman, the Rāja of Chettinad who founded the Annamalai University, Sir K. V. Reddy the present Vice-Chancellor of that university and others are given. In his account of Sir K. V. Reddy the author is not very fair when he says that being a great man he has the honour of the province but he has no claim for the gratitude of posterity. It may be that his views do not appeal to the congressites but that is no reason to doubt his patriotism, his loyalty to India or the honesty of his motives and acts. Likewise, Satyamurthi the most successful politician, a brilliant and beautiful orator, is certainly not the bully in South Indian politics as mentioned. I wish the author will be more charitable even in his caricatures. There is too much of parody in the author's writing. While I disagree with many of Satyamurti's views I dissociate myself from the description given of him in the work that he has not got capacity or that he is a camelion with the ability of diverse executive views. Likewise the pen-pictures of the Rāja of Bobbili, Patro, Sir Mahomed Usman and the Mahārāja of Pithapuram require careful editing. Such careless publications do no good to the author or the public.

S. S.

Rethinking Christianity in India—Published by A. M. Sudarisanam, 8, Berach Road, Kilpauk, Madras. Price Rs. 1.4.0.

A series of interesting essays resulting from an enquiry into the problems confronting Christianity in India is contained in this work. Mr. Chenchiah with a personal knowledge and experience of the Hindu faith, discusses the relation of Christianity and non-Christian faiths, with particular reference to Hinduism and Mr. Chakkara another equally distinguished personage re-examines the conception of the church as seen in the life and teachings of Christ and estimates the reason for Hinduism maintaining its vitality. The implications of the proposed scheme of union, the fundamental principles to be safeguarded in Indian Christianity,

the place of the *asram* in the spiritual life of India, the survey of modern religious movements in India, the call of the Indian national situation to Christianity and the Indian Christian community are among the other subjects dealt with. The World Missionary Conference held at Tambaram gave an impetus to this movement. The writers stand by the main principles enunciated in this book and recognise the supremacy of the personality of Christ in the religious evolution of race and perpetual claim with the Christian evangel in order to function normally in India until it is rescued from the ecclesiastical over-growth that has come from the West and adapted to the great religious heritage of this ancient land of religions. The unessential foreign and secular elements which at present dominate Indian Christianity should be shed and prolonged serious investigation is necessary. There is no doubt that the spiritual adventure of Christianity and the Bible influenced Hinduism considerably, and has given rise to the modern developments of Hinduism like the Aryasamaj and the Ramakrishna Mission. The assault of Islam and Christianity on Hinduism brought reaction on Hindu reformers and Theosophy also made its contribution for the regeneration of Hinduism. The social abuses met an unsuccessful challenge at the hands of the Government in their opposition by the great religious reformers and in later days by the Indian National Congress. Ranade, Kale, Gandhi, Ramamohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Vivekananda and Annie Besant have rendered yeoman service in this behalf for their uplift. Religion is a matter of the mind and it should not be confused with social customs. So long as the more conservative elements will be able to resist the forces of progress other religions would have some hold on us but once the difference is made up with the Varnasrama dharma of the people and the other points are settled, Hinduism will have a stronghold which it would be difficult to challenge. We have to establish new values for life instead of propagating the traditional ones. If a Christian is a good Indian and the Muhammadan is a good Indian, the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the Christian join together in the same political shrine. In the modern political life and in the modern international life, there is no reason why anybody professing any religion need be

afraid of being elbowed out. Ours is a common culture and there is no reason why any body should be afraid of that culture being affected in the least because of political changes being envisaged in the future.

S. S.

TAMIL

Kristavamum Tamizum (**கிர்ஷ்ணவும் தமிழும்**)—By M. S. Venkataswami, 59, Karneesverer Street, Mylapore, Madras.

THE theme of this brochure is the contribution of the Europeans and the Christians to the Tamil literature. The *padre*, European missionary, comes in for praise as being the father of the Tamil prose and journalism, as the first to bring out the Tamil printed books, as the translator of books on western science and general knowledge into Tamil, as the lexicographer and so on. The Christian vocabulary is next shown as being enriched with Biblical proverbs which it must be said are not current among the Tamil Hindus. The author gives a brief sketch of the lives of some European and Indian Christian Tamil scholars of repute. Within a brief space of two years from its first edition the book has undergone another edition, a fact speaking highly of its popularity among the Tamil speaking public and in particular of the Tamil Christians of India and Ceylon.

P. S. L.

TELUGU

Karmayogamu (**கர்மயோகம்**)—Published by Sri Ramakrishna Muth, Mylapore, Madras, Price Re. 0-12-0.

THOUGH some decades have elapsed since he attained Samādhi, Svami Vivekananda is still remembered as the first Hindu to carry the torch of the Vādanta to the West. His lectures in English on Karmayoga succinctly put forth the Hindu conception of salvation through Karma, meritorious deeds. The Madras branch of the Ramakrishna Mission has rendered them into Telugu for the benefit of the Telugu-speaking public and added foot-notes of great help to understand the text. The translation faithfully follows the spirit of his message without sacrificing it for the sake of language.

P. S. L.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

PRESENTED BY

Government of Mysore :

क्रांति विद्या—संस्कृत—Publicity Pamphlet No. 49.

By O. N. Lingalaya, B.A. (Hons).

क्रांति विद्या, संस्कृत—War Publicity Pamphlet No. 50. By C.K. Venkataramiah.

Smithsonian Institution :

Masked Medicine Societies of the Iroquois, By William N. Fenton.

The Beginnings of Civilization in Eastern Asia—By Carl Whiting Bishop.

The Botany and History of Zizania Aquatica L. ("Wild Rice") By Charles E. Chambliss

Stonehenge: To-day and Yesterday—By Frank Stevens, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Prehistoric Culture Waves From Asia to America—By Diamond Janness.

Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission :

Indian Historical Records Commission — Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. XVII. Seventeenth Meeting held at Baroda, December 1940.

Keeper of Records, Government of India :

Imperial Records Department (Historical Research) Rules.

A Manual of Rules regulating access to Archives in India and Europe.

Notes on Preservation of Record.

University of Mysore :

क्रांति विद्या और दर्शन—By H. Krishna Rao, M.A.

क्रांति विद्या—By Benagal Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Panyam Sundara Sastry, Vidwan.

क्रांति विद्या और दर्शन—Edited by K.V. Raghavachar, M.A., B.T.

A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions—By A. N. Narasimhaiya, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.

The Calendar for the year 1940-41-42. Volume I.

Sri Ramakrishna Muth, Karachi:

Continence and its Creative Power.

Society for History of French India, Pondicherry:

Bussy in the Deccan—Translated by Dr. Miss. A. Cammiade, L.M. & S.

Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore:

Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of Mysore, 1940.

Director of Archaeology, Travancore:

A Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram

Travancore Inscriptions—A Topographical List.

Director of Archaeology, Jaipur:

Excavations at Rairh—By K. N. Puri.

Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar:

Three Lectures—By K. V. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.

Annual Report of Kannada Research, Bombay, 1930-40.

Curator, State Museum, Pudukkottai:

Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State—Translated into English by K. R. Srinivasa Aiyar, M.A.

Publication Committee, Dr. (Sir) C. R. Reddy Commemoration Volume: through Messrs. G. S. Press:

Ramalinga Reddy Sastyabdapurti Commemoration Volume Part II—Humanities.

Rasahsala Aushadashram:

Yagñaphalam of Mahakavi Bhāsa.

Shri Bhagavad Gita—Edited by Rajavaidya Jivaram Kalidas Sastri.

Messrs. Maxwell Company, Lucknow:

Humayun Badshah, Vol. II—By S. K. Banerji.

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari:

Tunghungia Buranji or A History of Assam, 1681-1862 A.D.

Compiled, edited and translated by S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume.

Dr. K. N. V. Sastri:

Camden Miscellany—Vol. XVII.

British Consular Reports on the Trade and Politics of Latin America 1824-26. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by R. A. Humpreys, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume.

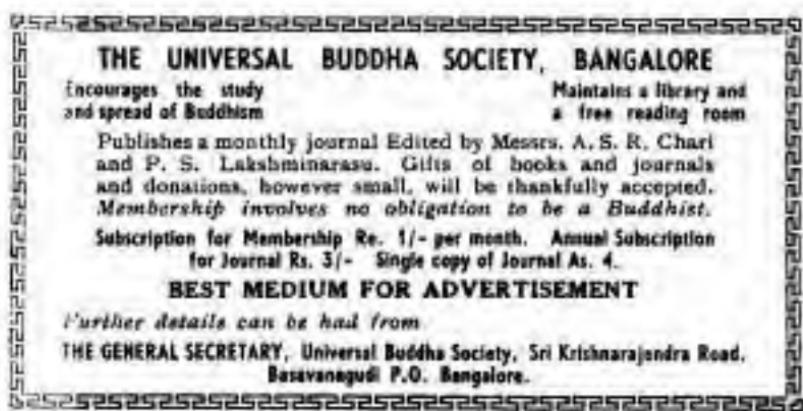
Authors:

Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of The Tamil Language, Part III—By Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.L. Seiman Mahabharata Tatparya Niranya — Edited By B. Gururajah Rao.

Purchased:

Jatakadesasmarga--by V. Subramanya Sastri, B.A.

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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXXII]

OCTOBER 1941

[No. 2

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

6th September 1941

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
In the Chair

THE Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held at the Daly Memorial Hall on Saturday, 6th September 1941, with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, LL.D., K.C.S.I., C.I.E. in the Chair.

A letter from Rājamantrapravina N. Madhava Rau, regretting inability to be present and wishing the function a success and future prosperity for the Society was referred to and then the Annual Report for the year 1940-41 was presented to the meeting by Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1940-41

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure to present you this evening a report of the Society's activities during the year 1940-41.

Our Patron:—Our beloved Mahārāja His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur has been graciously pleased to consent to be the Patron of the Mythic Society.

The late Mahārāja, His Highness Śri Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur IV, an unrivalled patron of arts and letters, and the Patron of the Mythic Society from its very inception passed away on the third of August 1940, to the great sorrow of all. A resolution of condolence was passed at the last Annual Meeting, all members standing.

Mahārājādhirāja Sir Bijay Chand Mahtale Bahadur, Mahārājādhirāja of Burdwan, Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society; His Highness Sir Śri Rama Varmah, the late Mahārāja of Cochin, an Honorary Member of the Mythic Society, a liberal patron of arts and letters; Dr. Rabindranatha Tagore, the famous poet and a great son of India, an Honorary Member of the Mythic Society; Prof. J. G. Fraser of the Trinity College, Oxford; Sir George Abraham Grierson, author of the monumental work on the Linguistic Survey of India; Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the distinguished publicist; Mudaliar C. Rasanayagam of Ceylon and S. Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras also passed away during the year and we tender our respectful condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

Membership:—The Membership of the Society has suffered owing to war and the complications of the present international situation. We trust that in the current year at least our members will try to introduce more members into the Society and thus help us to carry on our work in a more satisfactory manner.

Meetings:—Of the ordinary meetings held during the year mention may be made of interesting lectures delivered on "Chitaldrug" by S. Srikanthaya; "Some Characteristics of the Buddha Dharma" by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Minister of Home Affairs, Ceylon; and "The Antiquities of Hyderabad" by Dr. M. H. Krishna of the Mysore University.

Finance:—The total receipts during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 26-2-3 were Rs. 3,581-2-9. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,674-5-6 as against Rs. 4,160-5-0 in the

previous year. The overdraft in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. stands at Rs. 992.5.2. The Reserve Fund is stationary at Rs. 12,150.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month for the years 1941-42 and 1942-43. We hope and pray that this temporary grant will be made permanent and raised to at least Rs. 200 a month, so as to enable us to carry on our work on a more satisfactory scale. We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities, which are greatly appreciated in all parts of the world where the name and fame of Mysore are better known day by day. Funds are required to purchase recent publications, to provide book-cases to keep the numerous volumes, to construct a suitable structure to house the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of books in the library up-to-date.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramanyam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. who continues to audit the accounts of the Society in an honorary capacity for the past fifteen years.

Reading Room:—The number of visitors to the free reading room attached to the Society continues to be steady as usual, though the Daily Memorial Hall has been placed at the disposal of the Government for locating the Special First Class Magistrate's Court since the 19th of May 1941. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who make good use of them.

Library:—The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects of study in which we are interested. Scholars from within the State and outside come to the Society for study and research work in the library. Some important books were purchased during the year under review. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of archaeological and epigraphical departments continues. We appeal to all those interested in the work of this institution to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India; the several Governments in India and Burma; the Governments of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, Cochin and Jaipur; the Universities of Mysore, Madras,

Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Annamalai, Allahabad, Patna and Rangoon; and to various authors and publishers, for their patronage and for sending their publications to the library and for review in the Journal. Though the Hall is placed at the disposal of the Special First Class Magistrate, books from the library are being made available to members and other research scholars.

Journal :—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters. The July and October 1940 issues were published as usual. For the January and April 1941 issues is substituted the Sri Krishnarāja Memorial Number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society to the illustrious memory of our late Mahārāja, and this will be published shortly.

We may in this connection recall the words of the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore in his letter to the Secretary : ".....the Hon'ble the Resident greatly appreciates the loyalty which has prompted the Society to publish a Memorial Number and thanks the Society for affording him an opportunity once more to give expression to his appreciation of the late Mahārāja".

We are grateful to the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore, The Rt. Hon'ble Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Sachivōttama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Sir Ramalinga Reddy, Rājadharmaprativina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Rājasēvāsakta Prof. B. Venkatanarayana, Rājasēvāsakta S. Hiriyannaiya, Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. (Central), Rājasēvāsakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rājasēvāsakta Prof. B. M. Srikantia and others for other appreciative articles and valuable contributions to the Memorial Number.

Exchanges :—Among our exchanges are included most of the important periodicals of the world. The list is being revised from time to time.

Daly Memorial Hall:—The Daly Memorial Hall and the Premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in constant demand by several institutions both in the city and cantonment. The Indian Red Cross Society, Mysore State Branch, The Society for the promotion of Kindness to Animals and the Universal Buddha Society were among the many institutions which held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society. The Mysore Civil Service Examinations were also conducted in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Special First Class Magistrate, Bangalore, continues to conduct his enquiry and we expect the Hall to be made available to us early.

General:—We desire to congratulate most heartily our Honorary President, the Hon'ble Lt-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.I., M.C., the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore, His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda and His Highness the Rāja of Narasinghar and Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramasvamy Aiyar on the New Year and Birthday Honours bestowed on them.

The Committee congratulates Rājasēvāprasakta A. N. Raghabachar, Rājasēvāprasakta Y. K. Ramachandra Rao, Rājasēvāsakta B. Venkutananappa on the titles conferred on them respectively by His Highness the Māhārāja during the Dasara Durbar and Dr. S. Rama Iyer on the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal awarded to him during the recent Birthday Honours.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Māhārāja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Māhārāja of Mysore, the Government of India and to the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

* * *

In moving the adoption of the Report, the President, Rājākāryapravina N. S. Subba Rao appealed for greater public patronage and endowments and increase in membership so that the decrease in foreign membership may be made up and the financial position of the Society secured. Seconded by Mr. P. S. Lakshminarayana, the report was adopted unanimously.

**Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic Society Bangalore,
for the year ending 30th June 1941**

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE		
1. Subscriptions :	Rs. A. P.		1. Establishment :	Rs. A.	
Resident Members ...	196 0 0		Pay to Staff ...	844 0	
Mofussil Members ...	270 10 0		Electric Charges ...	108 10	
Life Members ...	30 0 0		Water Charges ...	40 0	
2. Government Grants :			Municipal Tax ...	12 8	
Govt. of Mysore ...	1,800 0 0		Cycle Account ...	9 3	
Govt. of Mysore Lib. Grant ...	300 0 0		Livery to servants ...	24 4	
Govt. of India ...	300 0 0		Garden ...	79 8	
3. Interest and Dividend ..	502 2 0		Premises ...	50 0	
4. Sales ...	78 6 0		Furniture & Repairs ...	39 0	
5. Advertisement ...	8 0 0		Electric Accessories ...	11 14	
6. Hall Charges ...	32 0 0				
7. Miscellaneous ...	37 14 6				
					1,713 9
			2. Journal :		
			Printing 1,274 15 6		
			Postage 438 9 9		
					1,713 9
			3. Library :		
			Books Purchased ...	39 5	
			Book Binding ...	146 14	
			Subscription to Papers ...	83 12	
			4. Stationery ...	144 13	
			5. Bank Charges ...	39 9	
			6. Miscellaneous ...	287 7	
TOTAL Rs. ...	3,555 0 6		TOTAL Rs. ...	3,674 5	
Opening Balance ...	26 2 3		Overdraft on 1st July 1940	889 6	
(30th June 1941) Overdraft	3,581 2 9 992 5 2		Closing Balance ...	4,563 12 9 11	
GRAND TOTAL ...	4,573 7 11		GRAND TOTAL ...	4,573 7	

Reserve Fund (At Face-Value)—

Mysore Govt. 4% Stock	... 9,800 0 0
5% Stock	... 1,500 0 0
Mysore Bank Share (one)	... 100 0 0
Fixed Deposit in Bank of Mysore	... 500 0 0
Fixed Deposit in Treasury	... 200 0 0
Deposit in Govt. S. B.	... 50 0 0

TOTAL Rs. ... 12,150 0 0

Certified correct.

(Sd.) T. M. S. SUBRAMANYAM

Hon. Auditor,

(Sd.) S. SHIKANTAYA

General Secretary

Treasur

Election of President

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao is proposing Rājakāryapratīna N. S. Subba Rao as President for 1941-42 referred to the international reputation and deep learning of the President with whose public spirit and co-operation the Society would be bound very soon to augment its membership and have a separate structure for its library. On Mr. D. Venkataramiah seconding the proposition, it was carried with acclamation and Rājakāryapratīna N. S. Subba Rao was duly elected President for 1941-42.

Election of Office-Bearers

Rājadharma-prasakta K. Shankaranarayana Rao in proposing the following Office-bearers for the coming year observed that the Vice-Presidents of the Society were people of high reputation, deep thinking and great statesmen and described the General Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya, as a pillar of the institution who had worked strenuously heart and soul for twenty years and referred to the valuable services rendered by the Sectional Secretaries and other members of the Committee. Being seconded by Rājasvāsakta P. Subbarama Setty the following Office-bearers were elected for 1941-42.

OFFICE BEARERS FOR 1941-42

President

RĀJAKĀRYAPRĀVĪNA

N. S. SUBBA RAO, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law

Vice-Presidents

AMIN-UL-MULK SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.S.T.

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RĀJADHARMAPRĀVINA DIWAN BAHADUR

K. S. CHANDRASHKHARA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

RAJAMANTRAPRĀVINA DIWAN BAHADUR

P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, B.A., B.L.

RĀJASABHĀBHŪSHANA

DIWAN BAHADUR K. R. SRINIVASIENGAR, M.A.

RĀJASABHĀBHŪSHANA K. CHANDY, B.A.

DR. E. P. METCALFE, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.

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ARTHĀŚASTRAVISĀRADA MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA

VIDYĀLANKEĀRA PANDITARĀJA

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

RĀJAMANTRAPRĀVĪNA S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI, B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer

S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

Editors

S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, M.A.

Branch Secretaries.

ETHNOLOGY—RĀJACHARITAVISĀRADA RAO BAHADUR

C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

HISTORY—REV. FATHER C. BROWNE, M.A.

FOLKLORE—B. PUTTAIYA, B.A.

COMMITTEE

The above *ex-officio* and Messrs.

E. G. MCALPINE, M.A., Dip.Edn., V.D., J.P.

RĀJASEVĀSAKTA PROF. A. R. WADIA, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Litt.

RĀJASEVĀSAKTA PROF. B. M. SRIKANTIA, M.A., B.L.

DR. E. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., M.B. & C.M.

J. R. ISAAC, B.A., M.B.E.

RĀJASEVĀPRASAKTA A. N. RAGHAVACHAR, M.A.

DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

CAPT. RAO SAHIB A. TANGAVELU MUDALIAR.

V. T. TIRUNARAYANA IYENGAR, M.A.

The distinguished Chairman of the meeting, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, rising amidst cheers and acclamations delivered the following address:-

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

"I thank you very much for having honoured me by an invitation to preside on this occasion. The Mythic Society is devoted purely to antiquarian research and studies and its objects do not naturally come within the purview of the ordinary man who is to all intents and purposes concerned with the matters of topical and current interest. Its aims appeal to the learned classes and have evoked a steady and satisfactory response during the past thirty years. Its work is facilitated by the generous patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore and the kindly interest of His Government. The Government of His late Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore had always taken great and keen interest in cultural matters and doubtless the position of the Mythic Society would improve under the inspiring patronage of the present Mahārāja.

Not being a specialist in any of the subjects, the study of which is intended to be promoted by the Mythic Society, I have had great hesitation in accepting the invitation of your secretary to preside at the annual meeting. He made a similar request to me last year, but I informed him that owing to another commitment, I was unable to comply with his request. As he has repeated his invitation this year also, I have reluctantly yielded to his request. He has been good enough to supply me with copies of the addresses delivered at your annual meetings in previous years, and I found that some of my predecessors were also gentlemen who disclaimed any specialistic knowledge in the subjects in which your Society is interested. I discovered also that I was not the first person who felt intrigued by the name of your Society. Why it is called the Mythic Society, I do not know. The choice of the name was probably the inspiration of the late Father Tabard who was one of the founders of the Society. Perhaps my esteemed friend Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who was also one of the original members, may throw light upon the

origin of the name.* The Society is not a mythical entity, but a reality and is quite alive.

The declared objects of the Society do not include the subject of mythology. But I believe that the study of mythology from the rationalist point of view would not be outside the scope of the aims of the Society, and can be brought within the comprehensive term 'other allied subjects'. In a handy dictionary I carry with me, a myth is defined as a fictitious legend or tradition accepted as historical, usually embodying the beliefs of the people on the creation, the gods, the universe, etc. Hindu Mythology occupies a large place in the traditions, beliefs, literature and the religious rituals and practices of our country and abounds in stories not less interesting and fantastic than those of other countries. A study of this subject from a scientific or rationalist point of view should be quite interesting and is not beneath the notice of a learned body like yours.

* Since the delivery of the above address, I consulted Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and the following note was kindly furnished by him in explanation of the name of the Society :—

NOTE

The name Mythic Society was chosen, from a certain number of names suggested, as being perhaps the most innocuous from the point of view of service rules, etc. which would debar ladies and gentlemen belonging to certain services from participating in the work of the Society rather rigorously. At the time that the Society was founded there were among the members, a number of the military officers of the station, and two or three members of the Hon'ble The Resident's staff. After rejecting a number of names suggested as not covering the whole scope of the work, it was thought the name Mythic would be the most innocent, as authority was pointed out that early Greek usage justified the name *Mythics* for matters connected with the early dawn of history and even pre-history. So that was adopted as meeting our needs at the time. It was not mere ordinary people alone, even Bishop Whitehead of Madras found it rather a queer name, and he sometimes stated publicly that I was a myth. It is, however, strange the word has continued to be puzzling even after so many explanations and corrections. I hope this statement published along with the Presidential address would go a considerable way towards clearing the haze yet hanging around it.

In casting about for a subject upon which I might address you, it struck me that some observations on Hindu mythology might not be inappropriate. The late Sir James Frazer devoted many years of his life to it, and his researches upon myths are embodied in the twelve volumes of the 'Golden Bough'. In a learned article in Hastings' "Cyclopaedia of Religion" Mr. E. A. Gardner observes that there is no universal key to solve all mythological problems and that the study of mythology is, for the reasons mentioned by him, obscure and difficult.

I have not come across any papers contributed by the members of this Society on the subject of mythology. There is one learned contribution to the literature on Hindu mythology by the late Mr. N. Narayana Aiyangar. I have looked into some portions of his "Essays in Indo-Aryan Mythology", and if I may presume to express an opinion, he seems inclined to attribute a solar, stellar or astronomical origin to many of the Hindu myths. Even the late Professor Max Muller was not exempt from a tendency to seductive generalisation.

The questions to which I propose to draw your attention this evening are, how do myths arise? Were they invented by particular individuals with intent to deceive or mislead people? What was their motive or purpose? What is the method or principle of interpretation to be adopted? How far are we justified in attaching an esoteric or allegorical meaning to myths? Has any useful purpose been served by myths in the development of human culture?

The first point which I should like to emphasise is that unlike many of the fables and fairy tales, myths were generally accepted as true by the people at large among whom they came into existence. It may not be possible to trace the origin or authorship of a myth to a particular individual. It might have been originally shared by a large number of people or might have originated in the poetic fancy or imagination of some individual which appealed to his contemporaries and in the course of frequent repetition, hardened into belief.

As regards the origin of myths, it may be pointed out that

a large number of them have arisen out of the tendency of primitive humanity to personify nature and especially objects endowed with life and motion. Celestial bodies whose motions strike the eye and excite curiosity are also personified. Man's own movements are the results of his own will and intelligence and he is naturally disposed to infer that motion in the external world must also be the result of a personality endowed with similar attributes. The sun, moon and stars, trees, rivers and the ocean are among the first objects in external nature which are personified. The appearances of these objects give rise to poetic descriptions which are the result of the poet's fancy or imagination. The names of the constellations represented by the signs of the zodiac and the names of rivers are obvious instances. These objects are supposed to be the embodiment of spirits. We hear, for instance, of *Vana-devatas*. Even inanimate objects like mountains, e.g. *Himavan*, are invested with personality. Once these objects, whether living or inanimate, have been endowed with personality, it is easy to imagine how human characteristics came to be attributed to them, and relations between these personalities or embodied spirits are invented and come to be believed by the people at large. The original beliefs or stories give rise to a number of secondary, tertiary or derivative stories and beliefs. The fancy of the poet creates for them wives and a growing generation of descendants. Separate races are believed to have sprung from the sun and the moon, and there are to this day numerous royal families which claim, whether seriously or otherwise, descent from these races. Their exploits, wars and feuds become the subjects of legends. These legends are the result of the human curiosity to inquire about ancestors and descendants. Natural phenomena, like the revolutions of the planets and stars, eclipses, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions have also been ascribed to the actions and movements of these personalities.

Social customs which have arisen in a primitive age survive into later ages, and where they are out of harmony with the moral notions and ethos of the later age, legends have to be invented to justify the surviving primitive practice in the eyes of the later generation. For example, the marriage of *Draupadi*

to the Pāṇḍavās which was obviously a vestige of the practice of polyandry prevalent among certain tribes, had to be justified by mythical stories of various kinds relating (1) to incidents in the previous births of Draupadi and (2) to the supposed obligation of sons to carry out in the letter the injunctions of their parents, however absurd they might be. Myths are often invented for the purpose of enforcing moral obligations by exaggerating the length to which the observance of these duties should be carried, as in the case of Paraśurāma who killed his mother at the behest of his father Jamadagni. The shocking character of this story is mitigated or counter-balanced by the miracle of the resuscitation of Paraśurāma's mother at his intercession.

The love of poetic justice and the desire for the reward of virtue and the punishment of evil have led almost all nations to the conception of heaven and hell where justice may be done to the departed souls by God. This belief has in its turn led to a large crop of beliefs regarding the various tortures of hell and the pleasures of heaven. It must be admitted that in the past this belief has exercised a potent influence upon the conduct of men in their relations towards other men and in their treatment of the lower animals, and it has been an incentive to the practice of virtue.

Whether God fashions man after His own image or not, we do not know. It would perhaps be more true to say that man fashions God after his own image, and attributes to Him a super-abundant measure of his own qualities. Some of the gods share our weaknesses. For instance, just as most of us Hindus have not acquired the art of saying 'no' to persistent supplications, Brahma and Śiva have been unable to refuse supplications accompanied by austerities involving self torture to secure the boons of invulnerability, invincibility, domination or even destruction of others. Complaisance may be a *virtus* in small matters and within narrow limits, but the complaisance of the gods is at the expense of their ability to foresee the consequences of the boons and the abuse of their favours. The cases of Rāvana, Bhṛṣmāsura and numerous others will come to your memory, and the Gods Brahma and Śiva had to be rescued by Viṣṇu from the perilous plight to which they were reduced by their want of foresight.

Several of our myths are merely the hypostatization of abstract qualities like Dharma (justice), Sraddha (devotion), Kāma (love), Rati (pleasure), Kṣama (patience), Krpa (mercy), Hri (modesty), Śri (prosperity).

Another factor which has contributed to the rise of myths is the love of marvels and miracles which is deep-rooted in human nature and is often associated with the exploits of heroes or the kindly intervention of divinity. Visits of heroes to celestial regions or to the bottom of the ocean, the exploit of Hanuman in crossing the ocean, may be cited as instances of myths of this kind.

An aversion to certain natural processes and functions and the desire to avoid any taint of a base and earthly origin are responsible for beliefs in immaculate conception and virgin birth. These and the doctrine of physical resurrection do not now find acceptance among enlightened Christians. The report of the Archbishops' Commission on Doctrine in the Church of England which was published in 1938 has adopted a rational and tolerant attitude towards the beliefs prevalent in different schools of Christian thought. Regarding miracles the Commission believed it to be more congruous with the wisdom of God that He should never vary the regularities of nature.

There is also inherent in humanity a love of the abnormal, the grotesque and the comic.

Another species of myths arising from the play of imagination in making all sorts of combinations of human and animal forms is illustrated by fabulous creatures like unicorn, dragon, griffin, centaur, minotaur, sphinx, satyr and faun.

In another class of cases the myths have arisen from the exaggeration of ordinary human instincts and desires. The desire for longevity is illustrated by the ascription of a life of 60,000 years to king Daśaratha; the desire to fly in the air is illustrated by the stories which describe Rāvaṇa's flight in chariots borne through the air and Indrajit's battles from the air. In these cases it is the wish that has been the father of the myths. Though flight in the air was a pure myth at the time of the

Ramayana, it has become a fact in this century through the achievements of science as a result of the investigation and control of the forces of nature. This does not, however, justify a belief in the truth of the myths as recorded in the Purāṇas.

There is a body of myths relating to cosmogony contained in the Vādas and the Upaniṣads. But the Mīmāṃsaka came to the aid of the rationalist centuries ago and warned us against the acceptance of the truth of the Akhyayikās (or stories) contained in the Vādas. With regard to the principles of interpretation to be applied to the myths, one important principle which commends itself to me with my legalistic bias is that the literal interpretation of the myths is not to be rejected merely because it leads to a belief incongruous with our present knowledge or inconsistent with our present notions of morality or religion. Esoteric explanations should as far as possible be avoided. If these mythical stories were intended to be symbolical of external facts or objective truths, why could not such facts or truths have been plainly stated, so as to be understood by ordinary people? Unless it can be shown that a plain and unvarnished statement of the facts or truths could not possibly have been understood in the then state of popular knowledge or would have been liable to abuse, the literal interpretation should be preferred to the esoteric. It is impossible to understand why people should have been at pains to wrap the truth in mysteries or a cloud of symbols which require elaborate explanations. There is no doubt that myths have exercised considerable influence on several of our practices and especially on the minds of persons who have not received the benefits of modern education. Many of the festivals which have contributed to the enlivening of our life are closely connected with mythical stories. It does not follow that the disappearance of our belief in myths will necessarily lead to the disappearance of our national festivals. Nor need it necessarily lead to an inability to enjoy poetical or other literature embodying myths. The disappearance of fairies, naiads, dryads and sea-nymphs has not spoiled our enjoyment of poetry. We can love and enjoy nature just as much as our ancestors did. The marvels of science are even more wonderful than the marvels of mythology, and thanks to a benign

Providence, the human mind has a wonderful capacity for accommodating the most incongruous beliefs.

In conclusion, I must add that I do not wish to be understood as having expressed an opinion against the immanence of a Higher Power in the universe or as banging the door upon religion."

* * *

Rev. Father C. Browne in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening referred to his great talents, patient labour, honest and disinterested devotion to duty and the high position which he held as a *doyen* of Indian political life and thanked him for his address which was full of that profundity of thought and expression which characterised all his public utterances.

With three cheers to His Highness the *Mahārāja* of Mysore the meeting terminated.



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THE MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN ARMY (SENAI): THEIR ASSEMBLY AND ITS FUNCTIONS*

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

Argument

SUBJECT for investigation—importance of the army—Senai—its meaning and its divisions—God of War and Senapati—the title and position of Senapati—Dubbing of hero as Senapati—Commanders as chiefs and governors of provinces—various usages of the term *Dandāñyaka*—Senachchēri—the quarter of the army—Senapati's residence in it—King's frequent visits to the quarter—Vēlaik-kāras, a prominent element—regiments once in prominence—its degeneration into a multitude of castes—padayachchi etc. their modern representatives—encampments, garrisons, and cantonments—recruitment not restricted—the various inhabitants of the Senai—the chief of the quarter Sēnakkilavai—Sēnaivajigam or the Commissariat department—Perūgañichchāngam and Sēnaivaluvamudumagam attached to the quarter—Inscriptional Extracts—the existence, nature and functions of the military assembly Senai

Résumé.

Who were all the members that constituted the Ancient South Indian Army? Had they any geographical standing in the country? Or were they merely important on account of their engagements in the sanguinary War? If they had any territorial units, had such units any assemblies of their own representing them? If such assemblies existed, what were the nature of their constitution and their sphere of work? These are all highly interesting problems which have not been conclusively answered. An accurate and comprehensive study of the references to the ancient South Indian Army, both in the Literary and Epigraphical

* This paper was read at the Tenth Session of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Tirupati, March 1940.

sources, would enable one to answer the above noted queries, and so far as we know, such a study has not until now been made. The present paper embodies the results of an attempt in that direction.

A study of Tamil Literature in particular discloses the fact that kings and emperors who ruled over different kingdoms and empires in India from days of old, had almost always been surrounded by the great bodies known in Tamil as *Aimperuñkulū*¹ and *Eppēryam*². The bodies that went by the first name³ or council were the mantrin (*amaiñchchar*), the purñhita (*purñhitar*), the Sññpati (*Sññpatiyar*), the dñta (*tavattolitñduvar*) and the chñra (*chñrañgar*). Again, the eight great Áyams⁴ (*eñpēryam*) consisted of the *Karañattiyalavar*, *Karumavidigal* *Kadriñkappõlcar*, *Nagaranñndar*, *Nañipadaittalaivar* *Yñmarirar*, *Ivñjimaravar* and such like. They can be generally known as Karapa (head among clerks), Purñhits (Kramavits), guards of passages, great men of the City, valorous Sññpatis, heads of Elephantry and Cavalry.

1. It is very interesting to find the word *Aimperuñkulū* occurring in an inscription. But it is very fragmentary and hence gives us no information at all. S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 388. The *Aimperuñkulū* of the Tamil Literature is perhaps known in Sanskrit as *Punçrñmabharvarga*. See also *Manimëgåhai* p. 10, 374. After a survey of Vedic and other references to the corporate activities in political life, Mr. H. C. Macumdar expressed his view on the Tamil references to *Aimperuñkulū* as follows:—"It appears to me that the so called Five Assemblies were really the committees of a great Assembly." *Corporate Life*, p. 131-2.
2. *Mani*: C. I. 1.17: *Perungadaî*: IV. 9. 1. 5; V. 6. 1.37. *Silappadigaram*: *Indira*: 1.157. The bodies who went with the king were called *Ningñchekñrçam*, and those that accompanied the queen were called *Urimaiñchcharçam*; they were generally known as *Ménperuñchcharçam* and *Moittaññahagñrñm*.
3. Cf. அகமச்சர் புரோதி ந் சேஷபுதியர்
தவத்தாழிற்றுதுவர் சாரணரென்றிவற்
பார்த்தின்க்கைம்பெருங்குழுவெனப்படும் — திவகரம்
4. Cf. கரணத்தியவைர் கருமலித்தக்
கணக்க்கற்று கட்டகைப்பாளர்
கரமாங்கா கனிப்பூட்டத்தைவு
மானையிரிவுளிமதை
மீனாப்பரைக்கீப்பாவுமத்தைப் — திவகரம்

To these followers who went beside the king as his shadow, great respect was everywhere shown and on every occasion. Before launching upon the final step of action, they were consulted by the king. As the policy of the state depended on the direction and advice of these important groups, great care should necessarily have been bestowed on the selection and appointment of able men for these high offices. Whatever it was, in the list of officers who were grouped together as the two great councils, we find in both of them the office of *Senāpatiyar* or *Nalipadaiṭṭalaivār*, which must necessarily indicate that the *Senāpati* was looked upon with great respect. It goes without saying that direction and advice must have been sought from him in times of political necessity. We shall study in detail the position of the *Senāpati*, the residence of the army, the kinds of armies, and the various functions that its members had to perform in ancient times.

What is the meaning of the term *Senā*? *Senā* means an army⁵. It is the same as *Sainyam* or *Padai* in Tamil. *Senā* is *Seōa* in Sanskrit and *Senē* in Pāli and Singhalese. *Padai* or *Senā* was one among the six great *angas* that belonged to the king. The other five were *Kuṭṭi*, *Kūl*, *Amaṭṭichchha*, *Nalpa* and *Aray*.⁶ The army was useful to the king in preventing and protecting the country from invasions and foreign aggressions, in spreading his fame by conquest and valour, and in increasing his source of income or revenue,⁷ by spoils and tributes. To a king a fearless and strong army⁸ was a very valuable asset and it is said that a small army composed of well trained and efficient warriors was far better than one which was large, not well trained and without a *Senāpati* or chief to direct and control. The army was divided into six main divisions which were *Mūlappadai* (also called *Koṭṭippadai* or *Mūṇpadai*),⁹ *Kūlippadai* (also called

5. The other meanings of the term are market, a fair, a host, an esculent root and weapons.

6. Kural S. II, v. 381

7. Sigupāṇi 1, 240,

8. Pugam 3 Madurais : I, 37-38. Perumpāṇi : I, 101-2. Peruṅg : I, 32, I, 65.

9. Peruṅg : III, 24, I, 39.

padaippadai and was perhaps composed of *Vēlakkāras* and *Vrīttikāras*, *Nāṭṭipparadai*, *Koṭtipparadai*, *Tuṇaippadai* and *Pagaippadai*.¹⁰ There were many subdivisions or what are known as regiments which were in *Vēlamis* and *Kadagams*. The army consisted of seven parts *Uram*, two wings (*Irukkaṭai*), *Madhyam*, *Pratigraham*, *Brishṭam* and *Kōḍi*.¹¹ Again the army was of four kinds, called *Doyām*, *Maṇḍalam*, *Aśangatham* and *Bhōgam*.¹² The appearance of the army was like unto an ocean,¹³ with

10. Besides there was another division called *Sūrṇipparadai*, which was also called *Rudipparadai* and *Sūlippadai*—vattam, *parāvaṭai* *Ibid.* 24.
 11. *Q. Rudipparadai* is the name for a hidden army. An idea of the army and its divisions can be had by a reference to the following information obtainable from Lexicons and Dictionaries :—

Paṭaittogaṭi = Divisions of the army

3 patti	= Sēnāmugam: A division of an army consisting of 3 chariots, 3 elephants, 9 horses and 15 infantry. Probably it was the army in the fore-front with the commander Sēnāpati.
3 Sēnāmugam	= Kulumam or Kumudam
3 Kumudam	= Kaṇam or Kapakam
3 Kaṇakam	= Vākiṇi
3 Vākiṇi	= Pirataṭai, Piralayam
3 Pirataṭai	= Samu, Samettiram
3 Samu	= Apikam 3 Samu = Saṅgam
10 Āgñam-	= Akkurōni
Akkurōni	= 20,870 chariots, 20,870 elephanis, 65,610 horses, 104,350 infantry.

The main bodies of the army are given as under: *Ani*, *Ākkam*, *Upṭai*, *Oṭṭu*, *Kūjai*, *Kai*, *Tūsi*, *Nirai*, *Neggi*, *Yēgam*. The commentator of *Takkayāgasparani* equating *Tar* with *Tūsi*, describes *Tūsippajai* as a division of the army arranged in the form of a long pointed needle with a broad central portion and an end well-formed, large, round and prominent, Canto, VIII, V. 315.

11. *Kuraṭ*
 12. *Ibid.* *Dandam* = Array arranged crosswise; *Maṇḍalam* = arranged in the snake's rotting form; *Aśangatham* = separated into parts; *Bhōgam* = arranging regiments one behind the other.
 13. *Pattu*: VI. I. 180; *Perung*: I. 58, I. 97; *Jivak*, 2169. The path in which the army moved was called *Aśamapādai*.

numerous elephants, horses, *patagai*, flags, umbrellas, *palliyam*, *kūkālam*, etc. In general the army was composed of Infantry, Elephantry, War Chariots and Cavalry. The war chariots became an absent feature as days progressed and in latter days it came to be fashionably associated with the royal insignia of honour. These war chariots were a peculiar feature of the Mycenean Civilization of about 1200 B. C.¹⁴ The cavalry force was composed of soldiers who did not wield weighty arms, but used only short bucklers. The infantry consisted of well-skilled archers and footmen of the ordinary class. The equipment of the archers were the bow and quiver of arrows. The footmen carried a spear or battle-axe on their right hand and a shield of ox-hide on their left. All these and the king wore a defensive armour called the anklet.¹⁵

God Kārtikēya or Kumāra is said to be the Sānkhāpati of the forces of the Dēvas. He is variously called Mahāsēna, Mahāsēnā-pati, Māsēṇa, Sēndipati, and Viśvaksēna. He is often the object of comparison when a king or commander is described. For instance in the Kāśākudi plates,¹⁶ when describing the Pallava, it is said that "All (the kings) sprang from (this) race possessed power that was everywhere irresistible, large armies, pure descent, birth from a lotus, (and) great piety, (and therefore) resembled Kumāra, whose spear is everywhere irresistible, (who is also called) Mahāsēna, who is the son of fire, who invented (the array of the army in the form of) a lotus (and who is also called) Subrahmanyā. The great fierceness,—that resembled fire,—of the power of their arms dried up,—like the water of the ocean,—the irresistible valour of all enemies." To the warrior the God is Subrahmanyā.¹⁷ The head of the army is known by different names

14. War-chariots became an absent feature not only in India; we find no use of them among the Parthians, except for the conveyance of the females, who accompanied the nobles during their expeditions. See p. 409 of Rawlinson's Ancient monarchies—The sixth monarchy.

15. Kamakasabini: The Tamils 1,800 years ago.

16. S.I.T. Vol. II, Pt. III, No. 73. The Pallavas bore the names Skanda, Kumāra etc. See, Hist. Sketches, K. V. S. Aiyer, p. 11.

17. Viśvōr Viṣvāṅgavīr cūṭāttalātīva—Tirumurogaippappadai. I. 260. God Subrahmanyā and Parāśur ma are said to have learnt everything about warfare under Śiva.

in Tamil Literature. He was known as Muñḍi, Sōṇavēṇḍan,¹⁸ Tāṇavēṇḍan,¹⁹ Tapaiirai,²⁰ Sēṇaittalaivar, Tāṇaittalaivar,²¹ Tandirattalaivar, Sēṇāpati, Kurusūlar, Vayavar, Vayavar-perumagap,²² etc.²³ In ancient Ceylon he was known as Sōṇvirat, Sōṇbhāyaka and Sōṇasāmaṇṭa.²⁴ The office of the Sēṇāpati, was one of very high rank and it was very difficult to obtain the name and title of Sēṇāpati. A hero in war, who by having displayed his boundless valour in the battle-field, after having stood in the front ranks of the army while engaged in war, and having received many serious wounds, and regardless of these having conquered many unconquerable enemies, and having loved war alone above all things, pleased the heart of the king, was considered fit to be dubbed as a commander of the forces, and to receive the title of Sēṇāpati.²⁵ It is told that this title was higher even than that of a *muantri* (minister), and was called in Tamil *Enādippaṭtām* and that this title of honour was next only to that of kingship.²⁶ Egādi was often the name of the commanders of all warriors, according to the commentator of *Nilakēśi*. There was also a band or fillet of valour which was made of glittering gold and named Egādi-śempop-paṭṭam. The Warrior to be dubbed as Sēṇāpati was to wear the same when he received a signet ring from the king. The title of Sēṇāpati was bestowed on persons who had pleased the heart of the king by their valour and achievements in the battle-field, on

18. Perūṅg : See the references under the name.

19. *Ibid* : " " "

20. *Ibid* : I. 42, I. 167.

21. *Ibid* : I. 33, I. 51. Tirumurug : I. 260.

22. Muduraik : I. 336; Perumpān : I. 102; Sirupān : I. 249. For the other meanings of vayavan and his connection with Sāmanin-seydal or Samanta-karaya. See Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV p. 32.

23. The other synonyms found in Nigbanḍu are : Kūliyar, Egālar, Vālujavar, Mallar, Magavar, Paṭdar, Porupap etc.

24. Mahāvamsa. Ep. Zey. Vol. III. Pt. V. p. 240f : Vol. I. p. 34.

25. Muduraik : I. 725-6.

26. The title of Sēṇāpati sometimes denoted a title of honour as in the case of the Southern Ikhāku rulers. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII. p. 52 n. 8. See also note 28 on page 133.

the following pompous and ceremonial occasion.²⁷ A separate well-decorated pavilion was constructed, and in this the king and his queen with her female retinue, accompanied by the ministers, *parohits*, astrologers, and the other great followers of the king would be found seated in their allotted seats. A ring called *Rājādīnēśvara* made of gold, specially made for the occasion, with the name of the king engraved on it, was kept ready. On this occasion when all were gathered near the pavilion, and in the presence of Sēnāpatis and distinguished warriors the king would rise from his seat at the appointed auspicious hour and put the *Rājādīnēśvara* ring on the finger of the hero who wore the gold forehead band *kālāngavatī*, and dubbed him saying "You are a Sēnāpati from now."²⁸ After the presentation of the signet ring,²⁹ and after having called him a Sēnāpati, the king would bestow on his great gifts comprising of Nādis and Īris having annual income³⁰ worth in lakhs, and also horses, elephants, chariots

27. Perung: IV. 9. 1. 5f.

ஐம்பெருங்குழுவு மத்திகேசஸமும்
மன்பெருஞ்சிறப்பின் மனைப்பெருஞ்சஸமும்
தேவேர திள்ளைசுற் தேவியர்களும்
தாலியும் குழந்தாணையளிக்குத் தன்
காமிழைதிர கன்னுட்டிகாண்டு
ஒனுபதிபிவனுவிகைச்சிசுறித்த

Jivak. 3167. செம்பொள்ளின் முடித்தேச மன்னி மன்னர்குப்
பைம்பொனுமிடெட்டாக் படைகட்டினு
அம்பொன்னுங் கழிவை ஏராவாம்
வெம்பவேற்கை வெவ்விகை வாழ்த்தினை

வெங்கா : போர்க்கெட்டார்த்தம் புரவித்தேந்ப்பல் படைக்குக்
கார்க்கெட்டல்பெற்ற காலவக்ஞே—போர்க்கெட்டாக
நானுதிப்பில் தாங்கேஷ்டன் மூதிரங்குடே
ஒனுதிப்பட்டத்திலை

28. It is worthy of note that the highest dignity in the Parthian kingdom, next to the crown, was that of *Surenā* or 'Field Marshal', and this position was hereditary in a particular family. He had many retainers and slaves heavily armed, under him. It was his right to place the diadem on the king's brow at his coronation. See p. 402, Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies—The Sixth Monarchy.

29. See note 27.

and other rich presents³⁰. Further, on this very auspicious and glorious day, it was customary that a lady born of a high and respectable family would also be given in marriage to the new Sēnāpati with all the pomp and ceremony worthy of such an occasion.³¹ Then the king would give advice to the hero to keep to his Dharma, to follow the rules laid down for him by the great law-givers, and would ask him to go and reside in peace and calm in the territorial divisions that had been granted to him, and to return whenever he required him. This is the description that we have in Tamil Literature and we find a strikingly corroborative account in the following copper-plate record.

Text³²

Line 92. Dhīrō nityānuruktō drūḍa niśitamati-brahmavamēapra-dhptō—

Line 93. lakshmibhūtriddhatējā nayapinayan-dhīdastra ēastrapravinhah (1) mōneyaśailēndra sārasūra iti cha mayā sādd—

30. Perung; IV, 9.1.1H.

பன்னாலுமிடம் பழுதின் நிவருவன
மன்னார்வேண்டுவ மற்றுவக்கி தநுக்
குதிகாயுக்கேதருங்கிரையூப்பியக்கையும்
எதிரிய சிறப்போடுதீரப்பங்கல்லி

Jivak. 2569. கும்பக்காவயத்தில்லவரவருகிதிவரச கல்வு
கும்பக்காவயத்தில்லவரத் குட்டுடுக்கன்னிடைத்
கும்பக்காவயத்தில்லவரவருக்காவர் நம்முத சென்ற
வாழ்விகை சிதியுருடு மன்னாவன் ஊடுப்புத்தானே

A Tamil inscription on a pillar set up in front of the Somēśvara temple at Gangavīka, Mysore State, dated in the thirty-third year of the reign of Udaiyār Sri Rajadhirajadeva, mentions that Sennai-nūđa in Tadi-qivali alias Vikramasōlamandala was the *jivita* conferred on the general Sēnāpati Rajendrasōđa Brahmanarayār. E.C. Vol. IX. Dv. 76.

31. Perung. IV, 9. 1. 15F.

பன்பர்சாவற் பதுஙபதிதன்
கண்போன்றேழி கண்டகுராளிக
இவைக்கையெற்காணி கரசைபேன்றும்
வயக்கிழம் மாதுரை@ வதுவைக்கட்டுப்
பெருங்காட்சிநிறப்பும் புயர்த்தி தாருங்கருளி

32. S, 1, 1, Vol. I, p. 56, l. 92f.

Line 94. rām sapraśālām sēnāpāyēbhūshikō vātāt jāṇāmū
pattāmūrūptām yātī; 1 [v. 30].

Mēdumārya was a Vaisnava. As a striking corroboration of the Tamil account described above, the declaration of the reigning king in the text quoted, is found in the Chellai plates of Vira-Chōda, in Eastern Cālukya charter. By it he (the king) says that his commander-in-chief Mēdumārya alias Ārumurābhuśikā, was a "general, firm, always attached, of strong and sharp mind, a light of the race of Brahman, an abode of prosperity, possessed of blazing splendour, a treasure house of polity and modesty, skilled in sciences and weapons, worthy of honour and as hard as the substance of the king of mountains," and that he was respectfully and graciously anointed by Vira-Chōda, the king himself (*māyā*), "to the dignity of a commander-in-chief (*Sēnāpati*)" and bestowed "the *tiara* which was placed (on his head) to the delight of the people". Mayūraśāman²³ started his career as a political bandit and was given a fief by the Pallava emperor in whose service he entered as a general. He was anointed by the king as Sēnāpati (*pattabhanddsampājām*). Sēnāpatis received *pattabhandat* (or 'pagree'-binding) according to the Rāja Niti-mayūkha.

In an inscription²⁴ it is stated that a certain amount of *pon* (gold) was received from Nakkaq Egādi of Ijjambar-nādu which was situated on the northern banks of the river Kāvāri in the Cōla country, for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp. From this record it is plain that Nakkaq Egādi was the head of Ingāmbar Nādu. From his name and from the fact that he was the head of the nādu, it is clear that he should have received both the Egādi title and the nādu when his valour in war and his services to the king were recognised by the king.²⁵ That Sēnāpatis were heads of territorial divisions like Nādu and Ur, are clearly known from epigraphs. Not only this, but kings themselves bore

23. Tālgūḍā inscription Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. 32.

24. S.I. I. Vol. III, Pt. III, p. 261 No. 125.

25. The existence of places still bearing names like Egādiyur, Egaḍi-mangalam etc. are perhaps reminiscent of such facts. S.I.I. Vol. VII. No. 1011; A.R. p. 1934.

the sur-name Ēṇḍi.³⁶ Ēṇḍi Mēgukudaiyāp Periyansayaū alias Pottappirāyaū is mentioned in an inscription.³⁷ The very name Sēnāpati Jayamurinādāvāp, who was one among the generals under Rājendra Cōla, will make clear the above facts. One of the Śaiva saints (Nāyanār), mentioned in the Periyapurāṇam, was named Ēṇḍilinayāpār and his profession was to give military training to the king.

Many were the parts that were conquered by Rājarāja, the great Cōla monarch. From an inscription from modern Coorg it is seen that in the battle that was fought at Bandisagē a warrior called Mēnija, who fought against him (Rājarāja) had showed great valour and courage, and that this Mēnija was praised by the king himself, though the former was an enemy defeated by him, and with great satisfaction ordered his general Sēnāpati (Mahādanḍanāyaka) Pañcavanmahārāya, to raise the hero to the rank of Kṣatriyasikhāmani-Kongkūvar, and to present him the village Mālavvi. The act of the king amply illustrates that the position and the title of Sēnāpati was difficult to obtain.³⁸

Danḍanāyaka was the title given to Sēnāpatis, the head among warriors. Danḍa or Danḍu means an army and nāyaka means a head or a chief. In Ceylon Danḍanāyaka was also called Sēnānāyaka, i.e. the Nāyaka or head of the Sēna (army). From the

36. Sōliya Ēṇḍi-Tirukku Tavaṇ (Pugam. 304). Ēṇḍi-Tirukkili (Ibid 167) Ēṇḍi; Mani, p. 205. Sōliya occurs as the name of a person in S.I.I. Vol. III, p. 21.2.

37. No. 237 of M. E. R. for 1912.

38. Perondanam Dandanaṇyaka occurs in No. 103 of 1913, and from the record it is seen that he was the head of Śāstamangalam and that he was newly named Cōṇa Kumāraṇ Madhurkotakumārāvāp. From another record his full name appears to have been Cōṇa Kumāraṇ Parūṇakamārārāya Rājādhirāja Nilagangarāṇavar (102 of 1903). From these also we get corroborative evidence to show that the Sēnāpatis received gifts of Nāḍa and Ār from the king and that they were named after their lords.

numerous inscriptions it is seen that *Vihārī*³⁹ and *Aṇiyar*⁴⁰ which are found usually added to the names of chiefs and generals were suffixes that indicated their rank and position.

In epigraphical records, the generals and the governors of various territorial divisions, are often described with titles like Sēnāpatti Hiriy Heddawala, Mahā-Pracandśdanḍanāyaka,⁴¹ Dappanāyaka, Sarvādhihikārin,⁴² Mahāpradhana,⁴³ Mannavērgadḍa Dapduṇāyaka,⁴⁴ Kaikkōt-Sēnāpatimudaligal,⁴⁵ Saṇḍivighrahi,⁴⁶ Ma-hāśāmanīdhīpatti,⁴⁷ Agambadi-mudali⁴⁸ and so on. Of these the Mahāśāmanīdhīpatti was entitled to the honour of five great musical instruments. They were allowed the honour of using elephants, and chariots, wearing robes of their offices, and parasols etc. which were a distinction of their rank. Parabala is said to be a designation of the commander of the army.⁴⁹ The word Mahādandanāyaka has been translated as 'judge'.⁵⁰

39. In ancient days the Sēnāpatis gave many gifts to temples and one such instance is furnished in a record which states that Sēnāpatti Rājāraja Paṇḍitī Paṇḍitaśāhūr Viracōla Irūṅgōvēśar, made a gift for the bathing of Kāraṇai Viṭṭankadevar in sandal paste, by having purchased lands from two villages and leaving them with the temples (I.I. of 1912). From this it is plain that Sēnāpatis had also the name Irūṅgōvēśar or simply Vēśar.

40. The suffix Aṇiyar is found in many records for example No. 232 of 1933; and No. 418 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

41. Ep. Car. Vol. V. No. 53.

42. Ibid. Vol. II. SB. 240.

43. Ibid. SB. 116.

44. Ibid. Vol. VII. SK. 111.

45. Kaikkōt-Mudaligal is equal to Sēnāpati and Nāyan among them was Ma-hāśēnāpatti.

46. Ep. Car. XI. Mg. 21; V. Ak. 194; X. Ki. 63.

47. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 334.

48. No. 85 of 1918; 136 of 1900; etc.

49. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 188.

50. Bloch, Ann. Rep. A.S.R. 1903-4 Bloch's list of Bēlī's seals, Dapduṇāyaka 44-51.

'chief officer of the police',⁵¹ 'a high, probably judicial officer'.⁵² It refers etymologically to a judicial and military title as *Dandā* means an army or rod of punishment.⁵³ The only technical sense of *Dandanāyaka*, is given as Commander, *Senākai* in the Jaina Lexicon.⁵⁴ The synonym of the term *Dandanāyaka* is used in the sense of 'general'.⁵⁵ The *Pariyasadda māhānnavo* gives for the term the alternative meaning *Senāpati* and *Sōkāni*. Hence it is almost clear that *Mahādananāyaka* means a commander-in-chief. *Balādhikrita*,⁵⁶ *Dandanāyaka*,⁵⁷ *Mahāpracanḍadanāyaka* are the main designations of the generals. The distinctive differences between each one of the offices, if any, are not discernible in the present state of our knowledge.

In ancient days the country was divided into many quarters, each one representing a class of people, pursuing a particular vocation in life, and having their own modes of existence. The following were some among them, as can be gathered from Literature, and epigraphs. *Kūttarisēri*,⁵⁸ *Anthaparsēri*,⁵⁹ *Muttigaisēri*,⁶⁰ *Kammāparasēri*,⁶¹ *Pugaichchēri*,⁶² *Parattaiyarārēri*,⁶³ *Pugachchēri*,⁶⁴

51. Marshall : Ann. Rep. A.S.R. 1911-12 p. 54; *Ibid* 1914-15 p. 82

52. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI.

53. Petersburg Dictionary.

54. *Abhidharmabintīmāni* II, 9 and *Kalpadrukśa*, I, 6, v. 17

55. Kāmandaka's *Nitisara* XVII, p. 49.

56. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 334.

57. *Dandanāyaka* occurs also in Ceylon inscriptions Ep. Zey. Vol. I, p. 47

58. Pernigadai : p. 402; 751.

59. *Ibid*, p. 195; 537

60. *Ibid*, I, 43, 1, 200.

61. S. I, I, II, p. 42I, 82/92 *lāchchēri*, quarter of Ceylonese emigrants. *Tinjēchchēri* different from *Pagaichchēri* *Ibid*; and *Pidjārachchēri* *Ibid* p. 46.

62. *Ibid*.

63. Maduraik : I, 329.

64. Pattiṇap. p. 301; Perung. p. 575.

Mēvilaīlārēśri,⁶⁵ Adimaičcheri,⁶⁶ Idaicichēri,⁶⁷ Talichchēri,⁶⁸ Talaicichēri,⁶⁹ Yavanarēśri,⁷⁰ etc. As is seen from the above list every group had its own *śeri* or quarter. So also the army or *Senā* had its own quarter or *śeri* in the country. It was called *Senā-chchēri* or *Tanāicichēri*.⁷¹ This quarter is found mentioned in inscriptions and literature, and was also called *Senāmugam*,⁷² *Padaicichheri*,⁷³ *Pugappadaividu*.⁷⁴ But the term *Padaividu* is, generally taken to denote encampment. This quarter was the permanent residence of the *Senāpati*, the army and others that were connected with them and was generally frequented by the king who also used to stay in the *śeri* for pretty long periods.⁷⁵ The whole atmosphere was filled with the sounds of the military men, their elephants, horses and chariots etc. The residence of the *Senāpati* in the *śeris* was situated in a place surrounded on all sides by natural scenery.⁷⁶ On the banks of a running stream, beside the great ghat which was full with green foliage and thick shades, he dwelt in a palatial building full of all architectural and sculptural work, and which towered high as if reaching the skies. When there was no war the *Senāpati* and his warriors used

65. Muduruk. I. 329.

66. Jīvak. 288.

67. *Ibid* 422; Malai. I. 451.

68. Quarter near the temple. A. R. for 1926. p. 67.

69. " " gate of a village. *Ibid*. p. 64.

70. Perung. p. 340. Pugamadirsēri. p. 575; Pugājēri; Silap. pp. 332f.

71. Perung. I. 43, I. 203, I. 37, I. 262, II. 8 I, 59. Ed. Ind. XXII. p. 142f. The particular streets in which they lived were also called after them Cf. Āṇavūṭkallēru. Villigalters. Other quarters like Abhimāṇabhittha-patterimā vēlam may also be noted.

72. The *Senāmugam* was considered with great honour Cf. Silap. 25. I. 1931. *Senāmugam*: S. I. I. II. Pt. III, No. 66 p. 269, I. 247, No. 81 of 1927-8, and A.R. for 1927-8, p. 53. Kulōttungasōlan-uts. p. 217. The word was also used to denote a prime division of the army.

73. Perung. III. 3, I. 49.

74. *Ibid*. p. 534.

75. *Ibid*. II. 8. I. 58.9

76. *Ibid*. III. 3. I. 391.

to spend their time in merriment and joy.⁷⁷ The military quarter T̄gaichchēti, was filled with many huts in which the soldiers lived. They were called Pādikkōṭtil,⁷⁸ T̄gaikkoṭtil,⁷⁹ and Pada-kkalakkōṭtil.⁸⁰ The quarter was occupied by Magavar, Hastikōśa,⁸¹ Mlēchhas, the commissariat department, persons belonging to Muṭṭigai, workmen of the Kaminaவālaya⁸² and the Vrittikāras.⁸³ The last of these were military soldiers who received *Jivitas* and gifts of royal favour for their living. They were to fight when there was war. They were like unto the mercenary troops. In inscriptions another group is mentioned by the name Vēlaikkāras. The meaning of the term has been variously guessed and great confusion has been made by equating it with Pūvēlaikkāras, a term which occurs in literature.⁸⁴ But there is no doubt that they were warriors⁸⁵ who usually distinguished themselves by tying round their left ankles a Todar. This practice was also frequent among the Magavas of Tamil works.

77. Madurak, I. 2251.

செடிக்கப்பேரியாது சிறைக்குத்து
பண்வழிக்கூடுப் படியவளிச்
செல்வழியெல்லாஞ் சிறைக் கம்பளை
காரபொருதலாவுக் கிழையெரலி கடுப்ப
நிறைவள்ளக்கிரிய மறிக்குப்பக்கமும்
ஏந்திவான்தெலு முக்கையிருந்த
ஒன்றேகூடுவிடுவேனி பெறப்பொலிக்க
கண்ணுமின்ற பண்ணக்கம படுகாற்
உவைசை நனித்த அமதவழுமாடத்
தரும்ப்புடச்செல்ல ராமர்தினிதுறையும்
பெரும் படிடக்கேளி

See also Tiruviṣaiyāśvapurāṇam, Section 59 vv. 15-16.

78. *Peru* g. I. 43. I. 199

79. *Ibid.* 24. I. 152

80. *Ibid.* p. 678.

81. *Ibid.* I. 9. I. 5. Hastikōśa and Virakōśa were heads of the elephantry and cavalry.

82. *Ibid.* I. 43. I. 199-201.

83. *Ibid.* III. 19. I. 57.

84. "Explanation of Certain Words occurring in Tamil Literature" by T. A. G. Rao.

85. This is also clear from the Belur inscription, No. 112, Belur Tk. Hassan District.

Vēlaikkāras were armed⁸⁶ men of great valour. Their help was enlisted when time (*veṣai*) or circumstance demanded. The Magavars and others were hardy Tamil soldiers and to that race, loyalty was the 'be all and end all' of their life.⁸⁷ Vēlaikkāras also mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamśa*. They formed the strongest portions of the Singhalese army. They are mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja, and others. They were famous for their martial qualities. They went to Ceylon accompanying the merchant guilds which frequently visited that island. They obtained many Jivitas, protections, etc. from the kings of that island, and became an important factor in the Singhalese army. Once Vijayabahu the king of Ceylon intended to invade India, and for that he began to gather his army. But with a high sense of patriotism the Vēlaikkāra troops, refused to invade their motherland and scotched up an internal rebellion. Seeing this and understanding the intention of his troops, which formed the strength of his force, the king had to abandon his intended invasion of India.⁸⁸ Vēlaikkāras figured in many capacities in that kingdom. They protected the great Buddhist *vihāras*, and their strength and valour was felt everywhere. Local princes and chiefs of that country, when they attempted to gain the throne for themselves had by many means to persuade these troops to join their sides, for, if they were not persuaded success in any of their attempts was well-nigh impossible. In some records these are called *Mugrukai-Māśanai* and *Mūngukai-Tiruvēlaikkārai*⁸⁹. There were many divisions among these Vēlaikkāras like, *Velangai*, *Ilangai*, *Sicudanam*, *Perudanam*, *Palligaldaṇam*, *Vaṭjugai*⁹⁰.

86. Compare the expression 'ūṇḍapīḍijāne Viśeikkārū' found in a *Seirangam* inscription.

87. Heads of regiments, in the period of Kulottunga III and Rājarāja III, made many compacts among themselves and they used to make strange vows which are recorded in the inscriptions. Cf. 516/02 435, 440 of 1913.

88. C. J. S., Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 162f. Many references are found in the history of Ceylon to the fact that the kings of that island often resorted to the mainland for contingents of armies.

89. S. I. I. Vol. IV, No. 1398.

90. Vaṭjugai were perhaps immigrants from the Telugu country and the hills. See also Śekkilar's stanza in *Mūrtisvāyaṇe-purāṇam* in which occurs "For vaṭjugak-Karunadūr māṇī".

Malaiyālār,²¹ etc. Sirudanam and Perudanam were among the titles which the warriors received as marks of royal recognition of their valour and capacity. They were also called Sirudanattu Vaḍugakkāvalar, Valangai Vēlaikkāras. The Vēlaikkāras figure prominently in the troops of Kājarāja and Rājendra-cōla. Mūṇukai Vēlaikkāras very probably consisted of the Valangai Vēlaikkāras,²² the Iḍaṅgi Vēlaikkāras²³ and those that did not belong to both of these, but were recruited from among the Vaḍugar, Malayālar nationalities and the Valaiñjiyars.²⁴ In S. I. I. Vol. II. p. 9f. the following regiments are mentioned.

1. Perundanattu Ānaiyāṭka]
2. - Paṇḍitaśōḍha-terinda Villigal
3. Utiamaśōḍha-terinda Villigal Aṇḍalakaritālar
4. Nigarisōḍha-terinda uḍa-nilai Kudiraichchēvagar
5. Mummaḍiśōḍha-terinda Yānaippāgar
6. Virasōḍha-anukkar
7. Parāntaka Kōṅgūvar
8. Mummaḍiśōḍha-terinda parivāratār
9. Kēraḷāniaka terinda-parivāratār
10. Mūlaparivāra-vittēru *alias* Jananātha-terinda parivāratār
11. Singaḷāntaka-terinda parivārattār
12. Sirudanattu Vaḍugakkāvalar
13. Valangai Pajampaḍaigaḍilār
14. Perundanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārappaḍaiga]
15. Sirudanattu Valangai Vēlaikkārappaḍaiga]

91. Malaiyālār were settlers from the Malabar. When the people of Rōhāya rebelled against Parākrama Bāhu I of Ceylon, the Kēraḷas took to the side of the Rōhāya people. Mv. Ch. LXXIV.
92. Valangai Vēlaikkāras are mentioned in Mys. Arch. Rep. 1920, p. 31 and in the Smaller Leiden plates Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 281, it is stated that the copper plate edict was written by Nigaribēḍap Madhurāntakā, one of the Vikramōbharaṇa-tejindā-Valaṅgai Vēlaikkāras of Ut̄kōḍi. His signature is also attested. In No. 9 of 1910, a certain Dāsaya Nāyaka figures as the Commander Sēnapati of Vira Vallāja's Valaṅgal force.
93. It is however remarkable that this section does not find any separate mention.
94. Karuṇākkara Ten-Ilāṅgai Valaṅgiyar *i.e.*, Karuṇākkara Vīra Valaṅgiyar of South Ceylon. A. R. for 1923. p. 106.

16. Ajugiyasōla-terinda Valaṅgai Vēlaikkārār
17. Aridūrkaśūka-terinda "
18. Haīyartāja-terinda "
19. Chundisaparākrama-terinda "
20. Kṣatriyasikhaṇaṇi-terinda "
21. Mūrtavilāramābharaṇa "
22. Nittavindūla-terinda "
23. Rājakuṇthirava-terinda "
24. Rājarāja-terinda "
25. Rājavinōda-terinda "
26. Rājumūḍubhīma-terinda "
27. Vilramūḍurāṇa-terinda "
28. Kēndāntacavāśai Tirrumeykappālār
29. Ayukkavāśai "
30. Parivāra Meykappālār²⁵

95. Inscriptions from Kilappayor in the Tirunelveli district mention a certain class of men called *Munai-edir-mōgar* whose commanders *Dandāṇiyakam-śreyōś* make certain gifts to the two temples of the place. The term *Dandāṇiyakam* suggests that they must have been a military body and this conclusion is supported by a record (395 of 1917) dated in the reign of Māgavarman Vikrama Pāndya, in which the other name of this body is given as *Tennavat̄ Āpattulavīga*, meaning 'the helpers of the Pāndya king in times of distress', which may be said to correspond to the king's own regiment of the present day. These are also mentioned in 396 of 1917. *Meykappālār* must have also been another name of such a class of military regiments. These bodies are perhaps similar to the community called *Poñākkāngavar*, *Perumpadaiyūm* of other inscriptions. The observations of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo deserve to be noted. He says that there are about the king a number of Barons who attend upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom. They are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the king dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company 'in the other world'. See Elliot & Dawson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. III. The descriptions suit well the inscriptive references. *Meykappālār* of South Indian inscriptions may be equated to the *Meykappālār*, *Vitāruvūr*, *Sūkṣ Virād* and *Baṇiba Senevi* of the Ceylon epigraphs, Ep. Zey. Vol. I, p. 34.

31. Palvagai Pajampaḍaigalilar⁹⁶

That these regiments⁹⁷ were really a strong element in the armies of the great Cōla kings is borne out by many inscriptions which speak of them. After some time these troops, either by having left the vocation of war or because of the gradual lapse of royal favour which meant absence of Vrittis and Jivitas, they had to eke out their livelihood by the pursuit of callings other than military. These classes⁹⁸ became separated into different castes pursuing different vocations in life. Nowadays we find castes like Sēnāpati or Padaiyāchchi generally in the South Arcot, Trichy, Salem, Tanjore and other Districts. The word Padaiyāchchi is the direct translation of the Sanskrit Sēnāpati. Having left the vocation of war these Padaiyāchchis began life as agriculturists by tilling the soil and living on the produce of the land. These came to be called in later days as *Araśavāṇī* (i.e. Padaiyāchchi), Vappiya-Kṣatriyas, and Gaundas. Eighteen of the musicians of the Rājarājeśvara temple originally belonged to one or other of the thirty-one regiments noted above, and not less than twelve were from the Vēlaikkāra troops.⁹⁹ Some of these regiments were in the charge of the management of the minor shrines of the temple and they had to provide for the requirements of those shrines. Others took money from the temple on interest which was payable in cash, for various purposes the nature of which is not known. These

96. Another inscription informs a new regiment called Anukkabhimarpadai and states that a certain Viṭṭanakan was the commander of the same. No. 94 of 1932/3. A regiment called Abhim&nbhūṣaya-terinda Kaikkōlar is referred to in No. 417 of S.I.I. Vol. V. Three regiments which went by the names Pārthivasēkhara-terinda-Kaikkōlar, Gandaraditts-terinda-Kaikkōlar and Porāntaka-terinda-Kaikkōlar, are also known from a record of Rājendra-Cōla I. No. 120 of 1930-31.
97. Regiments of Soldiers with coat of mail or armour are mentioned as *Anīhaśakattālar*. S.I.I. Vol. II. p. 98. Cf. Peruṅg I. 46.1. 243.
98. The Idāṅgai and Valāṅgai came to be divided into 98 subsects in each and these communities had their own representations. See No. 489 of 1912; No. 34 of 1913 etc. The Sirudanam and the Perudanam had their own representatives called *Sirudanattuppāṇimagan* and *Perudanattuppāṇimagan* respectively. S.I.I. II. p. 96 and No. 618 of 1912.
99. No. 627 of 1909.

facts show that much interest was created in them in temple affairs. Thus they performed other tasks than military,—in times of peace and unemployment in the battlefield, and as warfare was not a periodical occurrence. Rājarāja's military chiefs were learned men and some of them were judges, arbitrators and the like.¹⁰⁰ Not only this, in general, many military men were alike famed in war and civil affairs. Śekkijär, one of the greatest poets of the Tamil land, was a great Sēnāpati by profession. Mēdāmārya, the great and loved Sēnāpati of Vira Chōda was a learned man skilled in sciences and weapons.

(To be concluded)

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BHADRAVATI - BANGALORE

RUDRA IN THE RGVĀDA

BY G. SITARAMIAH, M.A.

RUDRA occupies a prominent place in the Vēdic pantheon. Although he is invoked in three hymns only in the Rgvāda, he is by no means a subordinate divinity because he combines in himself the demoniac as well as angelic features and he is the only god who is feared and held in awe by the Vēdic bards.

The etymological sense of 'Rudra' is uncertain. According to the usual derivation from the root 'rud', the term 'Rudra' means 'Howler'. But this meaning does not take us far in understanding the Rgvādic conception of the god.

Vēdic scholars hold that gods in the Rgvāda are nothing if they are not personifications of natural phenomena and they have explained the physical basis of the conception of Rudra in several ways. V. G. Rele, author of "The Mysterious Kundalini" maintains, in explaining the biological form of 'Rudra', that he is seen as "a thick dense protuberance, the Pons Varolii, on the cerebro-spinal nervous system, just above the medulla oblongata, the upper terminal end of the spinal chord".

Some scholars regard the conception of 'Rudra' as the Vēdic anticipation of the conception of Śiva of later days. Professor Macdonell, however, opines that the phenomenon underlying Rudra's nature is the storm, not pure and simple, but in its baleful aspect seen in the destructive agency of lightning.

Being a Dēva, Rudra possesses the common attributes of all members of the celestial clan. Thus he is beautiful, wears ornaments, is very powerful and brilliant and upholds the cosmic order 'Rta'.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the picturesque epithets applied to Rudra in the Rgvāda. In the first place, he is regarded as the father of the 'Maruts'—the storm gods. He is

guddy (babhu) and fair-lipped (Su-Biprah) and wears a glorious necklace (Niska). He is mightiest of the mighty (Tavasām Tavastāmā) and therefore unassailable. The most striking idea is that Rudra is regarded as the best of all that is born (Bṛoṣṭho jatasya oṣṭi). He wields the thunderbolt (vajra-bāhu). His hands are merciful. He is full of remedies for the afflicted as he is regarded as the physician of physicians. Young and unaging he is lord (Ātman) of the world. He is also destructive like a terrible beast. He is spoken of as a bull and a boar. He is also bountiful and auspicious, is easily invoked and is a giver of much health and wealth.

Thus we observe that Rudra is eulogised in superlatives. The desire to win His goodwill is seen in almost all the stanzas of the 'Rudra-Sukta'. The poets implore him to slacken his bow and to bestow upon them the most salutary medicines which will enable them to live for a hundred winters.

Rigvēda being the poetic response of the primitive Aryans to the mystery that is implicit in life, such occurrences as terrible lightning and peals of thunder were attributed to a divinity, 'Rudra'. Hence being regarded as malevolent he is highly praised in order that he may not discharge his lightning shaft against them.

Rudra is one of the few gods who have special distinguishing characteristics. Although he possesses the divine qualities of brilliance, knowledge, power, beauty and immortality, he does not possess them in the same degree as the other gods possess them. Ushas is the most beautiful, and Agni is the most knowing of the gods; Indra like Indra is the most powerful of all the gods.

Thus we see in Rudra, a divinity which is not wholly malevolent. The sinful are punished and the prayers of the others are justly rewarded. The invocations with reference to Rudra are all humble, honestly made and they really come from the heart. (Urga & Sutasom)

THE SULTANS OF DELHI

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, M.A., B.T.

THE Muslim period of Indian History has been engaging the attention of Indian scholars perhaps as an unconscious protest against such cavalierly statements that the Sultans of Delhi left no fruitful ideas or institutions behind them.¹

It would be unfair to tar them all as a race of "savage and blood-thirsty tyrants" revelling alternately in unbridled slothfulness and uncontrolled massacre of the innocents.

Nor can one blame Islam for the devastating zeal of its neophytes. Most of the Turkish conquerors assumed a zeal for Islam merely to cloak their innate lust for plunder and conquest. The accumulated wealth of India was a far more justifiable excuse for their unabashed robbery and plunder. "The real object of the invader was not the temple but the fabulous wealth it contained. Had the Hindu temple been as simple and austere as the Muslim mosque, Mahmud of Ghazna would not have invaded India time and again."² Unlike the Arab and the Persian, the Turk lacked the civilising force of a cultural inheritance and utilised Islam merely to sanctify his predatory instincts. "The greatest discredit to the religion came when the Ottoman Turks adopted Mohammedanism and enthusiastically, but selfishly, sponsored its cause."³

In spite of their inordinate lust, these Sultans were obliged to compromise with their ideals by adopting a tone of moderation in India. It was obviously impossible for them to exterminate or proselytise the millions of non-believers.

The Arab conquest of Sind is an instructive episode in the history of two great races of India. Having obtained victory by

1. *The Oxf. Hist. Ind.* V. A. Smith, p. 258.

2. *Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule*. S. M. Jaffar, P. 52.

3. *A History of World Civilisation*. Swain, J. E. p. 52.

his superior force, the conqueror Muhammad Bin Kasim conciliated the vanquished by requiring their co-operation in the administration of the conquered domains. The chivalrous Arab could well admire Brahmin and Kshatriya valour which joyously welcomes death in the battlefield no less than the warrior of the Crescent. So their lives were spared and their religious institutions were sponsored by the Muslim State with a definite assignment of revenues for their maintenance.⁴

The central Asiatic Turk felt no such prompting of nobler emotions and delighted in attacking with pick-axe and hammer every temple that crossed his path. The Hindu temples became the goal of the Ghaznavi invader because of their stored-up wealth; and the idols became objects of icono-clasism more out of spite than zeal for one's religion. Scholars are agreed in condemning such devastating force of Mahmud who simply revelled with a barbarous joy in the destruction of the priceless examples of Hindu Art.⁵ The temples of Muttra could not escape the fire of his vandalistic zeal, though they perforce extorted his admiration for their artistic lavish. The testament of History pillories Mahmud for his un-Islamic acts, while condoning Islam as a religion of peace.

Indeed Muhammad employed Hindus in his army and secured them an honourable place in his very capital city, where they could continue their religious rites quite undisturbed.⁶ Far more remarkable is that a Hindu poet could describe the exploits of Sultan Mahmud in the Sanskrit language, giving us a lead into fresh avenues of study.⁷

Muhammad of Ghori, the first Muslim conqueror of India bequeathed his Indian Empire to his well-beloved slave, Kusubuddin Aibak. This "Moon Lord" Aibak cut himself away from the apron strings of the caliphate and established a truly Indo-Muslim State. His Kutub minar tower and Qutb-wat-ul-Islam mosque certainly

4. Studies in Indo-Muslim History. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1911) p. 96.

5. Muhammad of Ghazna. Nasiri. pp. 163, 164.

(Habib: p. 71—83.)

6. Muhammad of Ghazna. Nasiri. p. 164.

7. "The Hindu," 29th Feb. 1911.

proclaimed the might of Islam (Quwwat) rather than serving as a meeting-place of Hind-Muslim art, as a recent writer aver⁸. A strange union of hearts, this building of Mosque with the raw materials of Hindu temples! For this the ardour of victory must subside.

But the dream of an Indo-Moslem State was realised by Altamish and culminated in the vigorous personality of Ghiasuddin Balban. Balban established firmly his authority as a most-dreaded Sultan by suppressing impartially the Turkish nobles and Rajput rebels.

Balban's government was the very negation of a theocratic state. He was the founder of an autocratic system, drawing its inspiration from the Persian tradition of "the divinity that hedges round the Kingship". His life was one long toil to exalt his throne and dynasty with political formulas and formal conventions. He thought of Royalty as greater than the subjects. He believed, like Kaiser Wilhem II, that King was responsible to God alone. No ulama, no amir dared to question the authority of this Vicegerent of God on earth. Such a military system was bound to collapse in the hands of his nerveless successors. But Balban had done a great service to the nascent Islamic State by crushing all oppositions to it from within and without.

The claim of Dr. Topa,⁹ that this empire "was broad based," "free from racial discriminations," and was "progressive" is contradicted by himself elsewhere. He admits that Balban did not acclimatise himself completely to Indian atmosphere. Fear was the sole aim of his government.¹⁰ It was left to his successors to break this spell of horror and build a bridge of union between the two great peoples of India. Dr. Topa confesses that to Balban "Kingship signified oppression and cruelty."¹¹

It was Jalaluddin Khalji who exorcised the frigid conservatism and nightmare of force that had entrenched themselves round the throne of Delhi. He humanised politics and Indianised

8. Pre-Moghal Politics. Dr. Ishwara Topa, p. 73.

9. *Ibid.* pp. 76, 77, 79.

10. *Ibid.* p. 69.

11. *Ibid.* p. 80.

the alien system of government. His was a genuine Islam which treated all in the kingdom with kingly impartiality. He refused to award the time-honoured sentence of death to robbers and rebels, as being opposed to the Shariat.¹² His peroration to the rebel prisoners is strangely reminiscent of Buddhism. "Evil for evil is easily returned; but he only is great who returns evil with good."¹³

This new-fangled generosity drew a respectful protest from a member of the old Balbanite school of blood and iron;¹⁴ but the Sultan would not budge from his high moral plane. He would rather abdicate his heavy dignity than compromise with his dearest conviction not to dip his hand in the blood of the innocents. On another occasion, the same minister Ahmad Habib pointed out to the sultan the impolicy of withdrawing from the siege of Raeshamboor, just to save a few useless Hindu lives—The reply of the sultan was eloquent of his noble attitude to his Hindu subjects. He laughed and said "Do you not see that the Hindus pass every day by my palace, blowing their conches and beating their drums on their way to worship their idols by the bank of the Jamuna? They follow the laws of their infidelity before my eyes, despising me and my royal authority. The enemies of the faith—in my capital and before my eyes—live in luxury and splendour and arrogantly pride themselves over the Mussalmans on account of their prosperity and wealth. Spare me—I leave them to luxury and pride and content myself with the *takirs* I get from them by way of charity."¹⁵ This is a frank confession of the impolicy of intolerance in India. Indeed toleration was the rule, intolerance was an exception.

This process of secularisation of politics and overthrow of the vested interests reached its apogee in the reign of Allauddin Khilji who asserted in emphatic language that his royal will alone was to be the guiding principle of his state. "Whatever

12. *Ibid.* pp. 105, 106, 109.

13. *Ibid.* p. 109.

14. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. Jaffer, S. M. pp. 52-53.

15. Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule. Jaffer, S. M. p. 52-53.

I consider to be for the good of the state, I order", said he.¹⁶ He brushed aside all cobwebs of hieratic influence and made himself the sole arbiter of the state. To enforce his will and ensure peace and order, Allaudin applied the pruning axe impartially to all the tallest poppies of the state, both Muslim and Hindu. His military regulations and sumptuary reforms gave his grateful subjects a sorely needed peace and plethora of the necessities of life. No wonder that Ibn Batuta found the memory of the sultan enshrined in the hearts of his subjects as a *Mā-Būp* ruler. "Of all the sultans of Delhi Allaudin was the best; and the people of India eulogise him highly"¹⁷. In spite of the caveats of V. A. Smith¹⁸ about the value of such panegyrics, impartial verdict must credit the sultan with a high degree of successful statesmanship.

His economic regulations cannot be easily dismissed as "crude economics"¹⁹. The sultan's order, in fixing up the prices of articles, did not entail punishment for failure to do so. While the merchants tried to corner goods, the sultan would throw into the market fresh stocks from Royal granaries and thus beat down monopolist tendencies.²⁰ Such a merchant was simply boycotted socially and not punished by the State. So a regulated freedom of trade seems better than cut-throat competition which simply destroys thousands by its merciless logic.

This apotheosis of the King as absolute master of the destinies of State received its imprimatur from the greatest poet of the age, Amir Khusru.²¹ This 'bulbul' of Hindustan hailed the reigning sultan as "the shadow of God." To him the King became a law unto himself. "This greatest intellectual" of the age kept a blind eye to the parricidal sin of the sultan and exulted in his conquests that ultimately the very fish in the Ganges became

16. Mediaeval India. S. Lanepoole p. 108.

17. History of India as told by its own Historians. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 399.

18. Oxf. Hist. Ind. V. A. Smith, p. 231.

19. Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol. III, p. 119.

20. History of India etc. by Elliot & Dowson. Vol. III, pp. 590-600.

21. Pre Mughal Politics. Dr. Ishwar Topa, p. 132-134. Campaigns of Alauddin Khalji. Mohammed Habib p. 1-2.

Sunni.²² Yet he admired the Hindu woman for her Sati, the superiority of the Indians in philosophy, mathematics, the game of chess, and Indian music, "superior to the music of any other country." Learned men from all parts of the world have come to study in India, while no Brahman has travelled outside India.²³

Far from acting as an unbridled despot, intolerant of advice and contradiction, Alauddin instituted the wholesome practice of consulting the army chiefs in his military expeditions and civilians and men of learning in his civil affairs.²⁴ The greatest despot of the age could well appreciate freedom of speech and agree to harness his unbounded ambitions to the more sensible projects of extending his sway at least to the frontiers of Hindustan.²⁵

"Alauddin's political efforts were crowned with success; but he failed in his political objective. He could not eventually succeed in reuniting the foundations of State."²⁶ In these words Dr. Topa does scant justice to the greatest administrator of Delhi. The failure of the sultan was due to his subjects who did not realise the identity of interests, and who still looked on one another with a degree of insufferable contempt as infidels on one side and with a contemptuous hatred as uncouth conquerors on the other side. Rather, the sultan's reign was full of fruitful ideas and institutions; but he had not the resources of the hearty co-operation of an army of loyal servants willing to carry on the King's government.

The time-honoured practice of the "struggle for survival" in the Muslim state failed to inspire into the Amirs around the throne a feeling of loyalty and contentment. On the other hand, it encouraged hypocrisy and treachery as the safest laws of

22. Life & Works of Amir Khusrau by Mohammed Wahid Mirza, p. 231.
The campaigns of Alauddin Khilji by Muhammad Habib, pp. 35, 36, 41, 103.
23. History of India—by Elliott & Dowson III p. 546. Life & Works of Amir Khusrau, M. W. Mirza, pp. 183-4.
24. History of India etc., Elliot & Dowson Vol. III pp. 182, 191-192.
25. Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol. III, p. 102.
26. Pre Mughal Politics, Topa p. 169.

self-preservation.—Allaudin's reign taught his co-religionists "that kingship could be usurped without compunction."²⁷

Mubarak Khalji tried the experiment of advancing Hindus to the position of equality with those of the old Turkish Amirs.²⁸ This act evoked the revolt of vested interests which ultimately submerged in a blood-bath of both the sultan and his ideas of union and equality within a national state. The reactionaries triumphed under the lead of Ghaziuddin Tuglak who thanked God that he saved the state from the hands of the parvenus and infidels.²⁹

But the time-spirit was stronger than the triumphant sword of the Ghazi Malik. His own innate reverence to God and intimate marital relations with Rajput ladies forced him to temper justice with mercy and look upon his sovereignty as a public trust in the eyes of God. "A new spirit and a new vision characterised his reign."³⁰ Promotion of the economic well-being of the millions of his non-Muslim subjects became the central idea of his government.³¹ Construction of canals, reduction of land dues on account of drought or famine and fixation of the assessment at one-tenth of the produce, all tended to the identification of the interests of the ruler and the ruled. But the forging of a spiritual bond between the two great races was left into the abler hands of his son and successor the much maligned Muhammad Bin Tuglak.

Verily Muhammad Bin Tuglak can easily claim his place in Indian History only by the side of Akbar the Great. In many ways, this visionary enthusiast was a forerunner of Akbar who fulfilled the dream of new India in finding a Hindu-Muslim unity. Sultan Muhammad revelled in the company of philosophers and learned men of all sects,³² which shocked the orthodox nose of Barani who satisfied his impotent rage by blackening the memory of his patron as an atheist and an enemy of Islam. The Emperor

27. *Ibid.* p. 171.

28. *Ibid.* p. 173.

29. *Ibid.* p. 179-80.

30. *Ibid.* p. 187.

31. *Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule.* Jaffar, S. M. pp. 34-40.

32. *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq* by Mahdi Hussain. pp. 129, 197-198.

sternly punished all frivolous complaints against the Hindus whom he considered as his most loyal and law-abiding subjects³³. This open championing of the infidels was an unpardonable offence to the intolerant orthodoxy of Barāni and Ibn-Matuta. And no Muslim dared to accuse the Hindus of any offence in a light-hearted, offhand manner. Thus the sultan was centuries in advance of his slow-moving and narrow-visioned people.

The projects of the sultan have been all rescued from their alliance with insapity. His Chinese expedition has now been narrowed down to a campaign in the Himalayas,³⁴ which fulfilled its aim, though at an enormous cost, inevitable in all mountain warfare, so well illustrated in the Afghan and Nepalese wars of a far more mighty power. His "dreams" of a central capital and token currency were certainly not mere visionary schemes. The verdict of History must be that the sultan had not the co-operation of an enlightened bureaucracy to enforce his laws and guard against abuses. Desire to deceive and cheat the state is as rampant today as it was in the days of the sultan. An argus-eyed bureaucracy could have saved him from the obloquy of a dreamer and visionary—

Muhammad's championship of the Hindus as equals of the ruling class raised a storm of protests and rebellions all over the Empire. The reactionary forces found their leader and mouth-piece in Firoz Shah Tughlak.

Sultan Firoz surrendered³⁵ himself into the hands of the victorious Mallas and re-established their ascendancy as the guardians of the State. The mild-natured, peace-loving sultan was forced to rescind the laws of his predecessor and forbid freedom of thought and worship to the Hindus.³⁶ In his autobiography, Firoz exults in his piety which executed Muslim Sufis and blew up to skies the newly built Hindu temples. Yet this sultan

33. Proc. Indian History Congress, Allahabad. 1939. p. 285.

34. Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. Mahdi Hussain. pp. 193, 197-198.

35. A short History of Muslim Rule in India, Ishwari Prasad.

Oxf. Hist. India, V. A. Smith. p. 250.

36. Do p. 250.

has been compared to Asoka by uncritical enthusiasm.³⁷ This action of the sultan is defended on the score that Islam forbids infidel places of worship in a predominantly Muslim locality.³⁸ Devaraya II of Vijayanagar placed the Holy Quran on his throne and built mosques in front of his palace.³⁹

Naturally generous, the sultan put a limit to the policy of intolerance and consecrated his time for the material and moral development of all his subjects. Firoz Shah Tuglak has rightly earned the title of the father of his people and a fore-runner of Shah Jehan.

The forces of reaction so well entrenched behind the throne could not be easily dislodged and Sikandar Lodi was the last champion of a losing cause.⁴⁰

Away from the courts, the fakirs and sadhus were forging a bond of union between the two great peoples and even had the courage to indict the sultan for his reactionary policies. "Malik-ul-ulama assured the King that it would be improper for the sultan to destroy the ancient idol temples and that he ought not to forbid the accustomed rite of ablution in tank?"⁴¹ Hindus and Muslims openly attended the lectures of a Brahmin, though forbidden in vain by a well-meaning but spineless Sultan Firoz Tuglak.⁴²

This tendency at synthesis of these two cultures expressed itself in the foundation of Satyapir cult⁴³ a fore-runner of the Din-i-Illahi of Akbar, Kabir, Nanak. Dādu and a host of others prayed in unctuous language,

" Thou art Ram and Rahim,
Thy names are Keshav and Karan."⁴⁴

37. Pre Mughal Politics. Topa, p. 235.

38. Pre Mughal Politics. Topa, p. 246.

39. A Forgotten Empire. Sewell, p. 72.

40. Oxf. Hist. Ind., V. A. Smith, pp. 253-4.

41. Hindus and Mussalmans of India by A. Chakravarti, pp. 108-109.

42. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

43. Aryan Rule in India, Havell, E. B., p. 338.

44. Hindus & Mussalmans of India, A. Chakravarti, p. 120.

In the field of music and architecture the practical visionaries created a glorious epoch that effaced all distinctions between the ruler and ruled and compelled the two races to sit at the feet of one another as master and disciple, forgetting their unhappy past.⁴⁵ On the top of these comes the greatest bond of unity, the *Lingua Franca* of India, Urdu or Hindi or Hindustani, a necessary instrument of national unity.

This tendency towards the identification of the joys and sorrows, mutual respect and toleration reached its climax in the culture-state of the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, whose wealth and grandeur made it the cynosure of the then known world.

45. Some Aspects of Muslim Culture, Jaffar, S. M. pp. 204-5.

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PROTO-INDIC RELIGION *

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.

III

FIGURINES and amulets. Witchcraft and sorcery seem to account for many of the terracotta figurines and amulets.²⁸ The seals especially the miniature ones and the copper tablets do not seem to be heraldic, historical or commercial. Some of the amulets have holes and bosses through which a particular kind of string was inserted and tied to the arm, wrist, neck or on the forehead. The small seals and copper tablets were perhaps inserted along with various herbs into envelopes and thus worn. The figurines are *kṛtyas* of the Atharva Vēda—concrete objects like dolls used in a great number of magical ceremonies. A few no doubt may have been worshiped in the houses, but a study of Atharvan charms shows that there are clear parallels. The small amulets found in the lowest strata of Harappa have no knobs or holes, no "unicorn" or deeply engraved legends. Therefore they are not sealings and the inscription is meant to be read direct from the original. The range of inscriptions is very limited: Vats points out that a particular combination occurs thirty-two times. Therefore the inscriptions are not personal names either. Thirty-three copies of the same cylindrical seal (No. 315) made in two parts and pressed

* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. I, Page 37.

28. Hrozy however prefers to take the seals not as amulets but as of individuals, "seals of so and so". He claims to have deciphered the seals in the light of hieroglyphic Hittite, and draws far fetched conclusions regarding the Indus population and chronology. The Indus population consisted of hieroglyphic Hittites, a non-Indo-European Subarians or Hurrian, and Kushites (Cassites) and Elamites,—the dominant element being hieroglyphic Hittites who penetrated to India in the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. (*Le Flambeau*, January 1940. *J.H.Q.* Dec. 1940)

together. The copies of Nos. 334-336 show that these amulets were meant for some fairly common disease. It is highly probable that the *soothsayers* (*Cātanas*, *Atharvans*, *Kinidins*, *Yātudhānas*) had a reserve of these seals ready for their customers and uttering spells and performing ceremonies over them when there was need, disposed them off.

The miniature seals have the crocodile, fish, goat, "incense-hunter", pal leaf, hare, the cross, four-sided bars, dotted circles, eagle and snakes, tortoise, cross-hatched pattern, goat, bison, *śankha*, the svastika turned to the right as in India, anchor, trees and plants on them. The shapes are oblong, square, triangular, rectangular, cylindrical, small discs, lanceolate, heart-shaped, shield, leaf, writing tablet (?), fish, tortoise, hare, T-shaped, rhomboid. The crescent-shaped amulet is unique at Harappa. The plaito-convex discs may have been used as bezels on the rings. The shield-shape is probably a representation of the double-axe. The leaf-shaped seal has a fish moulded or in relief. The crocodile is not the usual fish-eating ghariyal but the *magar*. The fish and tortoise shaped seals have inscriptions on both sides. Bull's heads made in *sankha* and pottery, with twisted horns, reclining tiger, jugate feline heads are also cult-objects or amulets.

At Tell Agrab and Khafaje, miniature models of the duck, bull, pig, kneeling human figure, bearded human head, reclining goat (perforated), different kinds of fish (with red beads set in bitumen for eyes), tortoises, rams, dogs (?), leopards, cut from glazed steatite, faience, mother-of-pearl, shell etc. show close resemblance to the Harappa miniatures, though the Mesopotamian have no legends on them. Frankfort says (*III. L. News* Sep. 26, 1936) that these amulets present a source of information as yet untapped. Some of these amulets were strung along with beads to form necklaces. Seated monkeys with a cord round the neck, flying wings, a double-fish, and frogs are also found. At Brak the amulets of the Jemdat Nasr and Early Dynastic periods are made of marble, alabaster, lapis lazuli and shell. Two alabaster idols with a neck and pair of circles representing eyes resemble the so-called writing tablet miniatures of Harappa. They also resemble the so-called "but-symbols" from Tepe Gawra. Mallowan pointed out that the

amulets—the kneeling bull, fish, double fish, ram, kneeling man, are exact counter parts of Early Dynastic work in Sumer and Kish and Mari. At Brak and Chagar Bazar the shapes include lions, gazelles, bears, hedgehogs, ibex, pigs, hares, frogs, eagles, ducks, fish, sheep and cows. Mallowan took all these, along with the beads to be foundation deposits. The alabaster idols were very numerous and varied considerably in form but the majority had flat bodies, elongated necks, surmounted by large eyes, often inlaid with black, red or orange paint. Some had double or triple heads and a few had a smaller image of an idol engraved on the front of the body, suggesting a symbolic mother and child. The variety of their head-dresses suggests a hierarchy. Possibly they were meant to avert the evil eye, just as the beads are used in modern Syria and India.

These images, the kidney-shaped amulets, bull's head, the cruciform design, the impression of two feet with a snake between them, the hare amulet, the vulture, ram, fish, tortoise, duck, frog, jugate bull heads of green stone discovered at Brak in Syria and assigned to C. 3000 B. C. (*III. L. News* Oct. 15, 1938) are exactly paralleled in Harappa miniatures. In Crete (L. M. II) the beads—segmented, spirally grooved, tubular, amygdaloid, and globular, have the lotus and recumbent calf carved on them. The amulets are in the shape of monkeys, frogs, argonauts, bulls' heads etc. The double-axe and dolphin also occur on vases. The sacred horns, bull's head with boar's tusks, goat-headed demons with wings, winged imps, animal heads growing out of horns, bird-headed and winged women, bat and griffins, flying fish, and monkeys occur in M. M. III period.

In M. M. II, the seals are signets, three or four sided bead-seals, lentoids, round-carved with an ibex, four-sided prisms with winged-heads. The figures are adapted to the shape of the seals. In M. M. I, the flat bead seals with the broad-arrow, signias, four-leaved flower and other designs were introduced into Crete. Scarabs and Barbary ape figures were taken from Egyptian amulets. Hornets, toads and bulls of gold and faience had also amuletic value. Miniature goats, ibex, dogs, stoats, tortoises are also found. In E. M. III animals first appear. The "double-axe" is converted

to a goat by adding a goat's head at one end. The seals have the monkey, dove, boar's head, lion, ape, a two-headed bird (at Trapeza). The seals are conical or with pyramidal tops, or three-sided, cylindrical with engravings at both ends, flat or two-sided, "buttons", and signets. The patterns are spiral, labyrinth, svastika, rosettes, lions, spiders, scorpions (headless as in Egypt), boats and fishes, the double sickle motive (two reversed lines). In E. M. II birds, jackals and svastika occur on the seals, and also Egyptian designs. In E. M. I. the seals made of steatite are conical or three-sided with a proto-Minotaur figure. In the neolithic period at Knossus steatopygus fiddle-shaped figurines are found and continue into E. M. I. where they were made in stone. Though there are some analogies with the Indus civilisation, the Cretan culture developed as a thalassocracy. In Crete, from the neolithic times onwards, the same dolicocephalic race with long narrow faces and not above five feet two inches tall were responsible for the Minoan Civilisation. They came from Anatolia and Syria and were seafarers. Therefore Tell Halaf, Brak and Ctesiphon influences are seen in the earliest Cretan figurines and pottery.

These parallels however bring us no nearer to the solution of the problem of the Indian amulets, for the ritual texts of Babylonia, Assyria and Hittites throw no light and the Cretan script has not been interpreted.¹ Therefore while noting the prevalence of more or less similar cults, in view of the continuity of the Indian civilisation, we can take the Atharva Veda and discuss some of the amulets and spells described there.

Magic, medicine, and psycho-analysis are all employed in the Atharvan charms. The main groups are medicinal (*takma nākṣaya gāṇa*), black-magic and exorcism (*cātāna*), mystic prayers (*ātma dēvātya*), confounding (*mōhāna*), white magic for success in trade, discussion, agriculture, domestic happiness, long life, health and virility, against portents and calamities, propitiating Manu, Yama, Rudra, etc. for concord and harmony, Vrātya, *māngafīka* (funeral).

Medical amulets—A reed charm in case of diabetes and fistula; for safe delivery by cæsarian operation, two accouching

goddesses *Śikṣāni* and *Biṣṭakāli* (*Puṣkali*) were invoked. To stop the flow of blood (menses?) a sand-bag was pressed. (सिक्तधन् ; सिक्तामयीत्रुन्) In heart diseases and jaundice Sūrya was invoked and the disease was asked to go to Śuka (parrots) Rōpanaka (*hūṣṭha* śuka—com.) and Hāridrava (*gopitauaka*—yellow water wagtail).

For leprosy, haridrā and rajani (*parpaṭī*?) were used. It was first made by an Asura woman.

For *takman* several amulets and medicines are prescribed; heated axe dipped in water, etc.

An ointment amulet (*anijana*) is employed against eye diseases, jaundice, consumption, *takman* (fevers), *balāśa* (phlegm) etc. It was obtained from Himavant, Traikakud, and Yamunā.

Lāksa (lac) water was used to heal deep wounds. It is called *silāci* and grew upon Plakṣa, Khadira, Aśvattha, Parṇa, Nyagrōdha and Dhama. Also called Arundhati.

With an amulet of a kind of rope, three goddesses and Mahiṣa were invoked for protection.

A *māyi* (amulet) was bound on the navel against snake poison. The snakes mentioned are *kirāta* (Krait?), grass-hunter, brown, black, *timāta*, *Upōdakta*, *ālīgi*, *vilīgi*, broad-knobbed one, born of the black barbarian woman (*dāsyū asikuryah*), *Udakūla*, (*urugūlā*), *tābūra* and *tastuva*.

An amulet of three metals gold (*harita*), silver (*arjuna*) and *ayas* (copper) was bound for protection and long life.

The root of the gourd (*Urvārū*, *Karkaṭī*, *Circumis utilissimus*) is used against *balāśa* (phlegm or cataract). Tālisā (*Flacontria cataphracta*) and an amulet of barley, mustard plant (*ābhāyu*?) against eye diseases. It is also called *alasālā*, *śilānjūlī*, *nilagala* *sālā*. *Parāśu* leaves, burnt to cure *gāyḍanālā* (carbuncle); the *Śāmi* for hair; a *darbha* amulet for Manyu (anger); the *arundhati* or *sahadīvi* plant for cows; an *arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*) amulet and thread for virility. (शेषोऽकृदेवत्यं) ; The Bower MS. (I. p. 5. v. 60 and p. 17), also prescribes the rind of the pomegranate and mustard oil for virility.

The amulet of Madhuga was worn and the plant was chewed for obtaining the love of a woman and success in dispute.

Gold beads (*yugma kṣṇala*) were worn as amulets for long life and in Āditya mahāśānti.

Mud from ant-hills was used for flux, wounds, fever, diarrhoea, diabetes, etc. The asuras dug low for the remedy, the ants (*upajika*) bring it up from the ocean. Perhaps skin diseases were supposed to be due to ants as among the Hopi American Indians, who drew the figure of a frog in sand to cure skin diseases.

The Jangida plant (*vṝṇasayām prasiddhah*) with a hemp string was tied on as an amulet against viskandha, (obstruction?) jaubhi (lock-jaw), and visara.

A *sura* amulet is used in Bhārgavi mahāśānti. An amulet of barley, *tilapīṇji*, earth from ant-hill etc. were used against inherited consumption, leprosy etc. The sickman was placed under an ox-harnessed plough with the head under the yoke and doused. Then he was placed in a śūnyaālā (with round windows-garvāksa), in an old hole (*jaratkhāsa*) where grass (*sātappa*) grew and there doused and his mouth was rinsed.

An amulet of the splinters of ten trees and touched by ten friends was also used.

Kāmpila chips bound to the patient placed at cross roads, were wetted with bunches of grass.

The horn of a bull-gazelle was used against the *Kṣetriya* disease "On the head of a swift running gazelle (*harina*) is a remedy". So also Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra :—

अनुन्वाहरिणोसृगः पद्मध्यतुभिरकमीत् ।

विषाणे विष्वैत्रं बन्धि यदस्य गुलिकतंहृदि ॥

The remedy was also connected with the constellations. "What shines yonder like a four-sided roof (*chhadi*) there with the *kṣetriya* shall disappear." Chhadi is a grass mat to cover the roof. Weber takes it to be a constellation and Whitney suggests the star group Arab Manzil (tent) in Aquarii, the twentieth naksatra

according to the Sūrya Siddhānta. "The two blessed stars, the Unfasteners (*Vīrtav*—the two stars in the tail? of Scorpionis) unfasten the Kṣetriya."

A *khrgala* (*tanutrīṇa*) and *Bandhura* (staff) are tied with reddish strings against karṣapha, visapha and kābhava (probably different kinds of Viśkandha).

For virility an amulet of kapithaka (*Feronia Elephantum*) is used. The gandharva gave this penis-erecting herb (*Śephō harshāṇīm*) to Varuṇa. It is called a stag, brother of Soma, the first born of forest trees.

The plant *kundamūla*, invoking Takṣaka is used in exorcising arrow-poison. So also the Varana tree (*Crataeva Roxburghii*) to ward off poison on Vatāñavati is used. It could be purchased in return for coverlets (*pavasta*), garments (*dūrśa*) and goat-skins.

Pippali is used for vāta (wind) and bruises; *patāka* amulet for phlegm, wounds, consumption, etc.; and amulet of madhugha, kankaparva against the poison of snakes and scorpions; a lute string amulet against rājayakṣma, apachit; and jāyanya (Bies ?); an amulet of deodar for long life; a gilt and lacquered amulet of ten kinds of woods against all diseases; a golden amulet (ear-ring) in *tulā puruṣa* and *agnīyī mahākānti* to obtain long life; a triple amulet of gold, silver and copper in *prājāpatya mahākānti*; *darbha* amulet in *aindrī mahākānti*; *udumbara* amulet in *kaubere mahākānti*; *darbha* in *yami mahākānti*; *jaugīda* amulet in *Vāyavīya mahākānti*; *satavara* amulet in *santati mahākānti*; a threefold amulet in *tvāstri mahākānti*, *anjanī* in *Nairṛti mahākānti*; a threefold āśrta amulet in *mārudgaya mahākānti*. It is highly probable that the medicine men employed these herbs both internally as well as externally.

Witchcraft amulets and figurines:—The sorcerers of the Atharva Vēda are the Cātana, kimidin, arśya, yātudhāna, piśāca, asuri, atrīs, Kṛṇas, atharvans, sadānvas, etc. Their conception of demons is described in various spells of Śukra, Bhṛgvāṅgas, Atharvan, and others. There were male and female demons whose names are given below; along with some benevolent deities.

Aṣāṇi	... lightning goddess.
Vināyaka	... to remove unlucky marks and against cats.
Hṛēḍu	.. god of the yellow one.
Sadāṇvas at the bottom of a house, cow-stall, wagon body, axle, etc.	... daughters of <i>Magundi</i> a pisāčī.
Kimidins-male and female	... Śerabhaka, (Śōvṛdhaka), Śerabha (Śōvṛdha), Yādava, Mrōka, Anumrōka, Sarpa, Anusarpa, Jūrpi, Upabdhi, (Jutt), Arjunī, Bhartījī.
Kaṇva piśācas	... blood drinking wizards and embryo-eating (<i>tayā kaṇva- syām kīrahchindāmi</i>)
Worms	... Kururu, algandu, saluna, avas- kava, vyadhvara, kusumbha (kasabha), yēvāsa, kaskasha, śipi vitnukas, nadanis.
Apvā	... <i>pāpa dīvata</i> . Abhvā—a demon sent by Maruts.
Viśkandhas	... Karāpha, Viśapha, kābava.
Sataghna	... god destroying profits of trade.
Śuna and Stra	... gods of ploughs.
Sambhyrtvan	... "collector" god.
Sarpas of the quarters	... East—Heti, South—Aviṣyu, West—Vairāja, North—Ava- sthavaja, Fixed—Nilimpa, Upward—Avasvant. East—black snake, South—cross- lined, West—prdāku, North— svajā, Fixed—kalmaṣa necked, Upward—svittra.
Progs	Tāduri (<i>tamdhuri</i>), khanvaka, khaimakha.

Gandharvas and Apsaras	... Apsaras—Pisā, Naladi, makes gandhi, pramandanti, gūguṇa (names of sweet smelling) ethi Viśvavasu.
Nirṛti	... naked, golden-haired causing evil dreams.
Snakes	... kīrata, Tīrata, Tāyinātā, al- viligt, Uriogula, Tabuya, Tā- tata.
Taučikā, brown and brown-eated.	causing eye diseases (<i>nirata</i>)
Aratu	... son of Yama and Varuna causing bad dreams.
Trijāman	... god of harmony and concord.
Kakukanjas	... Heavenly dogs.
Three Sarsvatis	... goddesses to remove poison.
Grūhi	... demon of seizure.
Jamībha	... demon seizing the sucking child (lock jaw ?).
Anumati, Suivali, Kihu, Rākṣa, Sarasvati, Asvini Gungū, Paurṇamāsi, Ama- vasya, Sūrkotā and Vṛschikā	Stellar deities, scorpions.
Pāpi Laksmi	ill-luck, Jyōsthagam and Mūla.
Vikūḍya and Alabakāra	Evil wailers.
Apacit, achit, mūta, Tamō- vrddha, Ayātu,	diseases.
Khargala, Ulūka, Uluka, Śūṣulūka, Śvayātu, Kōka- yātu, Supertha, Kṣvindha.	demons in the form of birds.
Alimsta, Vaisapa, palāla, anupalāla, sarku (sarku), Kōka, malimlucha, pali- jaka, ḍāresa, wrap-gar- mented, bear-necked, win- king one, snouted (tundī- ka) asura, flesh-eating,	causing abortion and hurting pregnant women.

kishkin-dogs, (svakishkin), making donkey noises, dancing round the house, Kusala, Kukshila (panchay), lakubha, karuna, srima (śarasa), surī of kharuna and srimā), lek-kundas, kukurabhas, skins-wearing (krati), pelt wearing (dūrsa), dancing like eunuchs, making noises in the forests, regards, buck-clothed (*ari-channa vasana*) ill-smelling, red-mouthed, Makakas, (Mṛgakas), thrusters of woman's hips, going before women bearing horns (plural), residing in the oven (agnicetas), laughing wildly, making light in the tuft, with front feet behind, heels and faces in front, horn out of the threshing floor and dung-smoke Urupla (Aruṇḍa), Matmata, pot-testicled, ayas, wild rolling eyes, bristling, berouihairied, copper-coloured, snouted (tundela), Salujha (Salujha), rim-nosed, Tangalva, chhāyaka, naked, brown, two-mouthed, four-eyed, five-footed, fingerless, twiners, eaters of raw flesh, and of

human flesh and embryos,
hairy, egg eaters, creeping
away from the sunlight,
kündins.

Serpents, Arbudi and Nyarbudi, Arbudi striding on khadūra.

Demons—tear-faced, crop-eared, with disheveled hair, dog accompanied Apasas, wearing the mutilated, concealed specters, Tarajanas, tusked, black-toothed, pot-testicled, blood-faced, hornless (*tūpara*), goat-smelling.

Evil creatures—Buzzards, *jaskamadas*, vultures, falcons, crows, *hakuni*, jackals (*rūpaka*), *Rīsa*.

Triśandhi with a red ensign to destroy specters with ensigns, ayas-mouthed, needle-mouthed, Vi-kankati (thorn-tree) mouthed flesh eaters.

Demons—*kumbhika*, *dūshika*, *pīyaka*.

Evil-nosed jackal and pūnyaga (eunuch)

Snake goddesses, daughters of Arbuda.

kinds of evil spirits.

Ill-omened animals and birds.

a god (*sēna mādhaka*) to confound hostile armies.

Evil spirits.

Evil sneezing.

The *kṛtyas* (figurines for black magic) were made in human forms. For sorcery against enemies and in *mahāsānti* *Nārasiṁha* amulet is used. An effigy was made and pierced, left in a boat on the water, its mooring was severed and pushed forward with an aśvattha branch to float away (III—6.7).

What witchcraft they have made in a raw vessel, in the blue-red one, in raw flesh, with that do thou smite the witchcraft makers. (IV-17.1.)

The raw flesh of a cock and a figurine were placed in a raw vessel tied with blue and red threads and the *kṛtyā* was buried with *apamarga* plant to counteract sorcery.

"As a dog, ape or hairy boy the Gandharva seizes women, . . . we expel (*cātuyūmāhī*) with the *ajasringī* plant." (IV-37).

Hymn (V-31) of Rsi Śukra gives some more details. The witchcraft made in raw vessels, mixed grains, raw flesh, in a cock, *karīrī* wearing (united ?) goat or ewe, in one hoofed, having teeth in both jaws, in a donkey, in the rootless (plant?) or buried (*valaga*), in a *nāśī*, in a field, in a fire, in houses, in *sabṭra*, gambling board, dice, arrow, army, war drum; put down in a well, or dug at the cemetery, in a *sadgara*, in a human bone, *samsasuka* fire (funeral fire), brought by not the road—is destroyed.

To counter opponents' sorcery a *pīḍīśī* (copper, *pīḍīmāyam*, *pīḍam pīḍam*) of white earth (?) is thrown to a dog. "I cast forth for death as a bone (?) for a dog", (VI-37.3.).

The spell of Pratyangiras (X-1.1) mentions *kṛtyā* (female figurines) "having head, nose, ears put together by the wizard: *śādra* made, king made, woman or Brahman made; buried in *burhi*, cemetery, *valaga*, in a field or in *garbhapatra*: *anointed*, *smeared*, *well informed*, bearing all difficulty (?), go away in your malice, as one pierced, slain with an arrow, fitting it (?) shooting in front: wherever you are set down, from there we make thee stand up. There are knives of good metal in our houses, we sitting joints; we cut thy neck bones (*grava*) and two feet. If you came to us hopped or quadruped (you) together by the wizard! go away as octopod."

That the Indus figurines were similarly put together, ornamented and smeared (with butter, oil or ghee) is clear from Mackay's description of them. Whereas he takes them as house deities accidentally mutilated and therefore thrown away, it is probable that they were deliberately pierced and mutilated in sympathetic magic.

The most striking are the figurines with prominent bellies. Some are merely naked and others hold children. The former class may perhaps represent persons suffering from swollen stomachs. Maruts are invoked with Atharva VI-22. (cp. *Bg.* I-164-47; *Tan.* *Sam* III—1—144) to cure swollen bellies.

Similar images are also found in the neolithic sites of Mornaq and in Chagar Bazaar. Mallowan calls a male figurine the "God Man of Germayir," dated C. 2500 B.C. It represents a man with grotesque features and he was perhaps intended like the pregnant mother-goddess figurines to secure fertility—whether cattle or children, it is not clear. It resembles a clay figure found at Ashur and another found by Petrie at Abydos in Egypt. In the third millennium B. C. such figures had a wide distribution. (*III. L. News* March 27, 1937.)

The female counterparts of this male figure were two models of the mother-goddess discovered in the second city of Chagar Bazaar. These figurines have pinched noses, large round bellies, hands at the stomach, breasts prominent and legs almost indistinct. The Indus figurines (Mackay, pl. LXXV No. 7, LXXVIII No. 12; Vats. Seal No. 505) of pregnant females with tight necklaces, mother suckling baby, holding a baby with one arm and the other raised to cover her mouth (not a sign of youth as in Egypt) are clearly meant for safe pregnancy. They might have been used in the charms against embryo—spoiling demons mentioned above.

Another pregnancy charm was a bracelet or bangle.²⁹ Atharva VI—81 recommends the binding on of a bangle. (*iti mantrāktaṁ badhuāti*)

O hand clasp (*parihasta*), hold apart the womb to place the embryo. O thou sign (*maryāda*) put in a son; thou comer (*āgama*), make him come.

29. Regarding the significance of *alankara*, see J. Gonda—*Volume of Eastern and Indian studies* presented to F. W. Thomas p. 97. In the Atharva X-1, female figurines possibly ornamented with bracelets, necklaces, etc. are mentioned. An image of Night made of flour (*pīḍī r̥̄tri*) in Atharva Parisista IV-3-5, etc. is mentioned as having a *pratisara* bound on it. [*arcitām (r̥̄trīm) gandhamalayēna sthāpay it...pratisaram abadhyā...chhatram hiranmayam dadyat*, etc.]

The Hindu clasp worn by Adrodesting a son, may Trashti bind it on her saying that "She may give birth to a son."

Even in modern India, a pregnant woman in the seventh or fifth month is provided with new bangles after some ceremonies. Vats (pl. LXXVI) shows a woman with a peculiar head-dress wearing a bracelet.

Another figure on a cot, probably a pregnant woman (?) on a wooden board, from Harappa resembles two model beds with females reclining at Mohenjo Daro. Frankfort refers to a seal of Jamdat Nasr period where a pig-tailed female is shown on a bed or bench which has hooved feet. These females may be pregnant or sick women brought to the temple for cure or betakaera of the temples. In the Atharva Veda (IV—4, also Ag. VII-55-7) there is a charm to put a woman and her household to sleep in order to approach her without opposition.

The thousand (golden) horned bull coming up from the ocean—
with him we put people to sleep.

Let all the women and the house dogs go to sleep.

The women lying on a bench, on a couch, in a litter and of
pure odour, all we make to sleep.

In the seals there are the figures of men and women taken as gods and goddesses, with spikes of leaves on their heads. So also some of the figurines, have sprigs of flowers or leaves on their heads. No doubt some of them are vegetation deities but another explanation is also probable. To secure the love of a man or woman the Atharva prescribes some charms. With an amulet of *samsapta* (*Dalbergia sisu*) sacred to Bhaga, a spike of Sauvarcala *kankha pushpika* is bound on the head of a woman desiring the love of a man and she enters the village (Ath. VI—129). Again (VII—39) we have

I dig this remedy Sauvarcala. Correspondent (*pratiki*) to Soma, to the Sun, to all the gods. If thou art either beyond people, or if beyond the streams, away this herb, having as it were bound thee, conduct thee hither to me.

Sauvarcala is not social salt but a root or flower *śunkā, pushpi* according to the commentators Kaṇsika, Śeṣīla and Kesiava. Sauvarcala is also hemp. Halevy thinks that the plant was fastened to man before departure, by the wife to retain his love and bring him safely back. He refers to the Burmese custom of tying hempen cords by the wife and husband on each other before separation. Kaṇsika says that with this charm the plant is fastened on the woman's head and then she enters the village. Kesiava however says that it is tied on the man's head (*purusa śirast badhva*). Probably it was meant both for males and females who wanted to secure the love of the other sex.

The male naked figurines next claim our attention. At Mohenjo Daro (Mackay, Pl. LXXII No. 8) there is a male, entirely nude showing the genital organs, and with the hair in a broad flat mass. The head is upturned and with oval eyes. Over the red was there are black deposits showing that the figure was anointed with butter on ceremonial occasions. Another (Pl. LXXIII, No. 8) is in a dancing posture with bowed legs, and genital organs well defined, with no marks of circumcision.²⁴ That circumcision existed in some parts of South India in the beginning of the Christian era is attested to by Vatsyayana.

दाक्षिणात्याना लिङ्गस्य कर्णयोरुक्ष्यधनं बालस्य हृत्वन्ति
कर्मसहिष्णूनि विकल्पयोजनासुच सेन्त्तावपातोनि दाक्षिणात्यानाम् ॥

Evidently this was not due to Semitic influence.²⁵ In any case the Indus people do not seem to have been much influenced by South India or Babylonia.

20. The custom of urinating in a standing posture is condemned by the orthodox. Atharva (VII. 107) has a spell to avert evil consequences: "Let not the lords (*īśvarāḥ*) harm me."

21. Āṇi in Vedic means testicles. The Anu tribe in Egypt was considered Semitic by Hall whose destruction by "Horus" was annually celebrated. Neville identifies them with Proto-dynastic people of Upper Egypt. Anu or Antius means "Pillar folk." The name An or On is perhaps from the pillar city of On on the Delta. The Anu tribe mentioned in the Vēdas is considered by Rajawade to be first hostile to Indra (Rg. 8-VIII-2). See also note on Vṛāyas.

Were these naked men priests? If the images were anointed they may represent deities. Śiva of course is dancing and naked (*dīgnimbare*), so is Kila-Bhairava. But other characteristics of these gods are not found. At Khafaje, Delougaz found a hoard of statues of the latter part of the second Early Dynastic period, showing a great variety in style. One figure of white translucent stone is naked with hands clasped on the abdomen, bearded and with curly head-dress. (*Illus. L. News* Dec. 10, 1938). Speiser (*Scientific American*, April 1938) takes such a statue at Tepe Ganta as anticipating the classical Hercules, but with a beard. At Mohenjo Daro a figure with a goat-beard curling inwards is taken by Mackay to represent a god and not a priest. Speiser says "the presence or absence of beards was not merely a matter of fashion. It was once held that the bearded figures represented the Semites, the beardless ones the Sumerians. But when a number of ancient gentlemen with unimpeachable Sumerian antecedents began to sport beards, it became clear that the reason for the custom was religious. Priests and kings who combined secular and religious authority wore beards as the prerogative of their office... One statuette is peculiar as of the original beard only the sidelocks have remained. The rest was cut off as is shown clearly by the none too delicate chisel marks. Had the man lost his priestly office after sitting for the sculptor, so that the beard had to go? This seems improbable because priestly offices were usually hereditary... Or the wife may have objected to the apparition strenuously so that the poor wretch had to resort to a compromise for the sake of peace." The beardless Sumerian statues may represent high officials. At Khafaje, Preusser discovered three statues of naked bearded priests with hands clasped in front in adoration. On the head is a four horned branch perhaps to support some ritual vessel. Heras wildly identifies the three images with Aq, Enlil and Ama and does not take them to be priests. But this is impossible from the attitude of adoration. Nudity of course had a sacred significance in many religions. The worshipper had to approach his maker in naked innocence like a child. (Even now the dead are burned in the nude). The head is also shaved before *dikṣā*. But in India we also find several types

of monks—with braided hair, clean-shaven, with only a tuft on the head, bearded, with uprooted hair, etc. (*jaṭila*, *mupdi*, *lunchhi*, *kōśa*, *eka dandins*, *tridandins* etc.)³² In the witchcraft ceremonies (*abhicāra*) nudity is prescribed. In historical times we know from *Harivansha* and *Viṣṇu purāṇa* that various hair dressing fashions were prevalent.

अर्थं शकानां शिरसो मुण्डयित्वा विसर्जयेत् ।
कांभोजानां शिरस्सर्वे यक्नानां तथैवत् ।
पारदामुककेशात्प षड्वाशमशुधारिणः ॥

In the Vedic period we have reference to beards and long hair (*hiranya kmaśru*, *hiranya kṣea*) of the gods.

In the shaving ceremony before a sacrifice there is reference to the razor and to the barber of gods.

ओष्वेत्रायत्वैम् खचित्तेमनैः हिसीः ॥
देवश्चरेता निप्रवपेत्स्तुति ॥

(Tat, Sam. II-1)

In the Atharva Veda (VIII-2-17) in the tonsure ceremony, the shaving of the face and head is alluded to.

With that dangerous very sharp razor, the hair-dresser shears the hair and beard, adorning the face—steal not our life-time.

In VI-68, shaving is described as follows:

Let Savitṛ bring the razor, Vāyu the hot water; may Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus together wet him. Shave the head of Soma the king.

Aditi, shave the beard (*īshairu*). Paippalāda has *kēśan*. *Aditi Kēśan vapo*, wetted by the Waters. May Prajāpati nurse (*chikits*) it.

Savitṛ shaved Soma and Varuṇa. Ye Brāhmaṇas, shave this man.

32. The yatis thrown to the Sālāvargas by Indra are compared with the Shamans. (Schroeder V.O.J. 33).

Compare *Tai. Br.* II-7-17, and *Sankhayana Grhya Sutra* (I-28).

येनावपत् सविताद्यमङ्गुष्ठेषुरेण्यज्ञो वस्त्रगस्य विद्वान् ।
 येनधाता चृहस्पतिरिन्द्रस्य चावपच्छिमः तेनश्रावणोवपनेऽद
 मध्याऽयुष्मान् दीर्घायुष्मानस्तुवीरः ॥

The *Tai. Br.* I-5-6-2 says that the Asuras began the shaving from the head downwards to the arm-pits and therefore went down, while the gods reversed the process and therefore went to the higher world. *Tai. Sam.* (II-1-1) also says that the beard is the characteristic of the man. On the Indus figurines of the males we can observe a trimmed beard, hair on the head bound by a fillet and the upper lip shaved; a natural in-curving beard different from the stiff artificial beards of Egypt and also a small tuft with the head shaved.

Some of the composite animals on the seals may illustrate the descriptions given in the Vedic literature.

The bull with the elephant's trunk is also found on a Jemdat Nasr seal.⁵² Frankfort thinks that the difference in treatment may well be the result of a gap in time, the Indian seals dating from the end of Early Dynastic or Sargonid period. But this position is untenable on the evidence of ceramics as I have shown elsewhere. Mrgāhastu and Vṛṣahastin occur frequently in the Vēdas and they are usually, perhaps erroneously taken to mean the beast with a hand and the powerful elephant. The term mrgāhastin is similar to parvatiqiri (*Ath.* IV 6-7), and therefore is no indication of unfamiliarity. Atharva (IX-4-3) refers as already indicated to a Bull which bears a trunk (*Kabandha?*) of Vasu (good).

Nejamēśa (Naijamēśa) probably in the form of a goat is worshipped for obtaining offspring. In the later Buddhist and Jaina tradition this goddess is mentioned in the transfer of the embryo. (*Bṛhaddevata* X-185. *JRAS.* 1895.)

⁵² The bull and the snake were combined in Phrygian mysteries. (Ramsay, *Assyrian Elements in Greek civilisation*.)

The *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (IV-28 ff) mentions the Araṇyaśva (taken to mean a Vṛka) and a blood-faced, dog-footed animal-demon.

असूर्यमुखोरुधिरेणाव्यक्तः यमस्यदृतः क्षपदाद्विधावसि ।

गृष्मः सुर्पीः कुणुपं निषेवमे यमस्यदृतः प्रहितोभवस्य चोभयोः ॥

The Sāla Vṛka is mentioned in connection with Indra who slew the Yatis and threw them to these animals. When the yatis were being eaten their heads fell away and became the date fruit (kharjūra), their sap the karīra.

यतोनामधमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतत् । ते खर्जूरा अभवन् ।

तेषां रसः कर्षापतन् तानि करीराणि ॥ (Tait. Sam. II-4-9)

The sons of the she-wolf Sāla Vṛki cast Trita into a bricked well *kōpeṣṭakābhīḥ* (Eg. I-105, *Bṛhaddevata* III-132). The *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (IV-30) gives this spell.

बदेतद्वृक्सोभूत्वा वामदेव्यमिरायसि ।

द्विषन्तं मेऽभिरायतं मृत्योमृत्यवेनय । स अत्याऽर्तिमार्छतु ॥

Indra in the form of a sālāvṛki ran round the earth three times.

Another animal was the *Bhīṣyodaku*, a form of *mēṣa*. (VI-2-5-7, *Tait. Sam.*).

यदीषितो यदिवा स्वकामी भयेषुको वदति वाचमेताम् ।

तामिन्द्रामो ब्रह्मणा संविदानौ शिवामसम्ये कुणुतं गृहेषु ॥

The goats or deer (*prṣni*) combined on a seal with the Asvattha leaves may be referred to the 6 or 7 Maruts whose names are given thus.

च्वनिश्च ध्वनश्च ध्वनश्च ध्वनयेश्च । निलिष्यश्च विलिष्यश्च

विक्षिपः ॥ उग्रश्च धुनिश्च ध्यानश्च ध्वनश्च ध्वनयेश्च ।

सहस्रांश्च सहमानश्च सहन्त्रांश्च सहीयांश्च । एत्यप्रेत्यविक्षिपः ॥

लहू फट् जाहि । छिन्हो मिन्ही हन्ही कट् ।

(Tait. Ar. IV-24-27.)

Frankfort says that the monstrosity is due to design and that there is no point in searching mythological literature for the composite creatures. This is merely a counsel of despair.

(To be concluded)

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THE LITERARY GENIUS OF BĀDARĀYANA

BY RAO SAHIB N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU

I

BĀDARĀYANA or Vēda-Vyāsa, otherwise known as Kṛṣṇa-Dvai-pāyana, is one of our revered Gurus in our Guru-Pārampara, *vis.* Nārāyaṇa, Brahma, Vasiṭṭa, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śūka, Gaṇḍapāda, Govinda-Bagavatpāda, and Śankaracārya. Nārāyaṇa is the Lord of the Universe. Brahma, the first-born, is the Creator of the Universe, to whom Nārāyaṇa taught the Vēda. Vasiṭṭa, the son of Brahma, by the latter's Will-Power, is the supreme spiritual adviser, who was closely associated with the solar race of the kings of Bharata-Varṣa. Śakti, the son of Vasiṭṭa, was the father of the sage Parāśara, who, by Satyavati, the daughter of Uparicara Vasu, gave birth to the Sage of Badari, Bādaraṇya, called Kṛṣṇa-Dvai-pāyana, owing to his dark complexion and his being born on an island in Yamuna, by the spiritual Grace of Parāśara. His son Śūka was a Jīvanmukta from his birth and receiving initiation from Bādaraṇya, Janaka and Nārada rose to the highest seat of Paramātmā with the force of his Yōga. Gaṇḍapāda, Govinda-Bhagavatpāda the guru of Sri Śankaracārya, and Sri Śankaracārya are our Brahma-Vidya gurus in the age of Kali, for leading us to Parama-Pada through the two Vēdic Margas of Karma and Gñāna. Karma includes Bhakti and Upāsana.

It is indeed interesting to see the great literary service done by Bādaraṇya to us in his supreme grace and with his supreme Yōga. He is famous in our Literature as the sage that classified our Vēdas, summarised the teaching of the Vēda in the Brahma Sutras and wrote for the edification of the learned and the unlearned, the Mahābhārata, called the fifth Vēda and the eighteen Purāṇas. It is a fashion with our modern critics to say that there was no Vyāsa, that there were several Vyāsas, Vyāsa being only a title, that the Mahābhārata must have been the writing of more than

one writer, that all the Purāṇas could not have been written by one man and so on. We might dismiss these theories as fantastic, as we know that one author in our own age has shown himself capable of writing several works and different kinds of works in different styles too. The History of English literature alone is sufficient to silence these critics. However, my purpose is not to deal with such critics or answer them, for they do not seek answers to their criticisms. Their pride is that they have made research in an age of research. We search for truth and we do not research, for we lose nothing, for us to search again. Our literature shows us the way to search within ourselves and find Brahman through all this enormous Universe. We see Brahman and the Universe in our heart, as the Cāndogya Śruti says, if we seek within with Yoga and Upāsana for Brahman, as Atma is in our own Hearts.

In dealing with Vēda-Vyāsa, we speak of Bādarāyāna, the son of Parāsara, the great sage of this Kalpa of Sveta-Varaha Avatāra of Nārāyaṇa. Our literature says that, in each Kalpa, creation follows the same routine as in each previous Kalpa, and so there is bound to be a Vyāsa or codifier for each Kalpa. Our Vyāsa, Bādarāyāna belongs entirely to our own Kalpa and so we have no doubt about his identity or his work in the field of our Literature.

II

Firstly, we have Bādarāyāna as the classifier of the Vēdas, hence called Vēda-Vyāsa. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, third amṣa, adhyayas 3 to 6, the sage Parāsara tells Maitreya the literary story of Viśva-Vyāsa in sufficient detail. The literary work of Vēda-Vyāsa falls under four divisions.

1. Vēdic Classification.
2. Brahma Sutras.
3. The Mahābhārata.
4. The Purāṇas.

Bādarāyāna has classified the material of the endless Vēdic literature in a way so as to make the material useful for the performance of yagna and for the growth of Gñāna from Karma, Nitya, Naimittika and Kāmya. He taught the four Vēdic

recensions thus made by him to his four disciples. To Paila he taught the *Bṛg Vēda*, to Vaiśampāyana he taught the *Yajur Vēda*, to Jaimini he taught the *Sāma Vēda* and to Sumantu he taught the *Atharva Vēda*. To his own son Śuka he taught all the *Vēdas*. The *Atharva Vēda* deals with four kinds of *Vēdic Karma*, *Śāntika*, *Pūrṇika* (including *Bhaiśajya*), *Adbhuta* and *Ābhicāra*. The *Yajur Vēda* deals with *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Kāmya Karmas*. The *Bṛg Vēda* contains the hymns for the invocation of the deities who have to be propitiated at the various kārtitas. The *Sāma Vēda* contains select *Bks* set to music in seven tunes, used for singing the glory of the *Devas*, while they are at the *Vedi* receiving their sacrificial shares. When the deities are thus propitiated, they bless the sacrificer and his associates, the *Rtviks*, with long life and prosperity in the world and bliss beyond this life of a fixed season, in the great year of time known as eternity. The *Atharva Vēda* deals with several rituals intended to make life free from seen and unseen obstructions and afflictions, relating to the body, the mind and the soul. These rituals are classified and instructions for their performance are given in the *sutras* of *Kauśika*. So each *Vēda* has its own *sutras* for the rituals. To appreciate the genius of *Vēda-Vyāsa*, I would just give as a sample an analysis of the subject-matter of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, as I have been able to make it during my study.

The *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* falls under four great divisions according to the *Bṛhis* presiding over the rituals. The four *Kāndasyas* of this *Vēda* are *Prajāpati*, *Agni*, *Sōma* and *Vīvē-Deras*. The following is a summary of the subject-matter:—

I. Prajāpati Kānda

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Mantra</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>Ādhāna</i>	... T.S. I. i. 1-13	T.B. III. ii. 1-10 iii. 1-11
		T.S. II. v. 1-6, 11 (3.9)
<i>Yajamāna</i>	... T.S. I. vi. 10 vi. 1-6	T.S. II. vi. 1-6
		T.S. I. vi. 7-11 vii. 1-6
<i>Hautra</i>	... T.B. III. v. 1-4 8-13	T.S. I. VII. 2. II. v. 7-11 vi. 7-10

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Mantra</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>
Hotārah	... T.A. III. 1-7, 11	T.B. II. ii. iii
Pinda-Pitr-Yagna		T.B. I. iii. 10
Pitr-Medha	... T.A. VI	
Brahma-Citi	... T.A. III. 1-11	
Brahma-Medha	T.A. III. 15-21	
Miscellaneous	... T.A. III. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.	T.B. II. ii. 5

2. Soma Kanda

Ādīvara	... T.S. I. ii. 1-13 I. iii. 1-13 I. iv. 1-31 37-45	T.S. VI. i. 1-11 ii. 1-11 iii. 1-11 iv. 1-11 v. 1-11 vi. 1-10 vii. 1-3
	T.B. I. i. 1 I. iv. 8	T.B. I. iv. 1 v. 4, 9-12
Vājapeya	... T.S. I. vii. 7-12	T.B. I. iii. 2-9
Savitri-Yagnas	... T.B. II. vii. 7, 8, 12, 13 15-17	T.B. II. vii. 1-6, 9-11, 14, 18
Pravargya	... T.A. IV. 1-42	T.A. V. 1-12

3. Agni Kanda

Ādhūna	... T. B. I. i. 7, ii. 1,	T. B. I. i. 2-10,
Special Rituals...	T. S. I. iv. 32-34.	
Vimāṇadheya and Agnihotra	T. S. I. v. 3, 5, 6, 10	T. S. I. v. 1, 2, T. B. I. iii. 1, T.S.I. v. 4, 7-9, T. B. I. iv. 3, 4, II. i. 1-11, T. S. V. i. 1-10.

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Mantra</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>
Agni-Cayana	... T. S. IV. i. 1-10.	T. S. V. i. 1-10
	ii. 1-10.	ii. 1-10
	iii. 1-12.	iii. 1-11
	iv. 1-11.	iv. 1-11
	v. 1-11,	v. 1-10
	vi. 1-5	vi. 2-10,
	vii. 1-14.	vii. 1-6, 8-10.
	V. v. 5-10.	
	vi. 1, 4.	
	vii. 2-4, 6-9	
	T. B. I. v. 7, 8.	

4. *Viśvedeva Kṣeda*

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Samhitā</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>Āraṇyaka</i>
Yajña	... T. S. I. i. 14,		III. 14-21
	ii. 14		
	iii. 14		
	iv. 46		
	v. 11		
	vi. 12		
	vii. 13		
	viii. 22		
	II. i. 11		
	ii. 12		
	iii. 14		
	iv. 14		
	v. 12		
	vi. 11-12		
	III. i. 11		
	ii. 11		
	iii. 11		
	iv. 11		
	v. 11		
	IV. i. 11		
	ii. 11		
	iii. 13		
	T. B. II. viii		
Upānuvākyā	... T. S. III. i. 1-10		
	ii. 1-10		
	iii. 1-10		
	iv. 1-10		
	v. 1-10		

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Samhitā</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>Āraṇyaka</i>
Kānyah :	... T. S. II. i. 1-10.	T. B. H. viii.	
Pāśu		ii. 1-11	
Iṣṭi		iii. 1-13	
		iv. 1-13	
Rajasuya	... T. S. I. viii. T. B. I. iv. 2, 9, 1-21.		10.
			v. 5, 6.
			vi, vii, viii. II. vi.
Satṭrayana	... T.S.VII.i.4-10	T.B. I. ii. 2-6 ii. 1-10	iv. 5-7
		iii. 1-10	
		iv. 1-11	
		v. 1-10	
Aśvamedha	... T.S. I. iv. 35-36. T.B. III. viii, ix IV. iv. 12 vi. 6-9 vii. 15 V. i. 11 ii. 11-12 iii. 12 iv. 12 v. 11-24 vi. 11-23 vii. 11-26 VII. i. 11-20 ii. 11-20 iii. 11-20 iv. 12-22 v. 11-25		
Nakṣatra-Iṣṭi	... T.S. IV. i.e. 10-11	T.B. I. v. 1-3 III. i. 1-3 4-6	
Puruṣa-Medha		T.B. III. iv.	T.A. III. 13
Pāñuka-Hautra		T.B. III. vi.	
Accidra-Prāyas- eitta		T.B. III. vii.	
Dīvāsyena-Iṣṭi	...	T.B. III. xii. 1-2	
Apāgheṣṭi	...	T.B. III. xii. 3-4	

Topic	<i>Samhitā</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>Āraṇyaka</i>
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5. Other Rṣis

1. <i>Havyavāt</i> :			
Savitra-Citi . . .		T.B. III. x. 1-8	
Nāciketa-Citi		xii. 1-6	
Chāturdhotra- Citi		xii. 5	T.A. III. 1-12
Vaiśvavarja- Citi		xii. 6-9	
2. Arunah:			
Aruna-Citi *		T.A. I. 1-32	
3. Svāyambhuḥ :			
Svādhyāya		T.A. II. 1-20	
4. Upaniṣads :		T.A. VII-X	
(a) <i>Sagmhitā</i> -Devata		VII	
(b) <i>Vāruni</i> Devata		VIII, IX	
(c) <i>Yagniki</i> -Devata		X	

The above analysis shows at a glance the arrangement of the *Vajur Vēda* for ritualistic purposes by the sage *Vēda-Vyāsa*. One who has to perform the rituals or even study the text of the *Vēda* intelligently derives great benefit by this classification of the subject-matter in the best manner possible.

III

After thus classifying the *Vēdas*, the sage necessarily had to take out the rationale of the *Vēdic* teaching from both the points of view, i.e. of *Karma* and *Gñāna* and formulate the *Vēdic* Theory of Brahman as the goal of existence and show the sure means of reaching the goal through the two-fold path of *Karma* and *Gñāna*. Both lead to the same goal by what appears to be two paths, which are really one. For this purpose the sage *Bādarāyaṇa* formulated the *Brahma Sutras* in four chapters.

In the First Chapter, the general theme is that *Brahman* is *in All the Jagat, Manifested Universe*. *Brahman* is indeed the essential form of all the objects of existence.

* See—“The Hymn of Aruna” by the author.

In the Second Chapter, the theme is that *Brahman is the Creative Force in the Jagat*. All the theories of creation according to the different schools of thought are discussed and refuted. The theories are of the Sāṅkhyā, the Vaiśeṣika, the Naiyāyika, the Bauddha (Kṣaṇika), the Sūnya-vāda, the Kṣapanika, the Jaina and the Pāncarātra schools.

Having established the thesis that *Brahman is All and is the Cause of All*, the sage proceeds to expound the *Oneness of Brahman and Jīva*, Jīva representing the finite form of the Infinite Brahman. The evolution of the elements (Bhutas) and of the senses (Indriyas) is then dealt with.

In the Third Chapter, the value of Action (Karma) is discussed. Virtuous Karma (Punya) and Vicious Karma (Pāpa) both give rebirth, for the running out of the effects of both kinds of Karma.

Then the value of Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Upāsana is taken up, the former being a preparation for the latter, the former still binding the Upāsaka to life, the latter raising Jīva to the final stage of Sayujya with Brahman, directly or through grades of lokas or regions of higher lives.

In the Fourth Chapter, stress is laid on Nirguṇa Upāsana as freeing the Jīva from births caused by Karma and leading Jīva to that union with Brahman from which there is no return.

The teaching of the Brahma Sutras is summarised by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gita Ch. 12, 13 and 14. Ch. 12 summarises Ch. 3 and 4 while Ch. 13 and 14 summarise Ch. 1 and 2 of the Brahma Sutras in a manner intelligible to lay minds. This summary is in fact implied in the statement in Gita Ch. 13, Verse 5, that the whole matter dealt with here (in the Gita) is fully discussed by Vyāsa in the Brahma Sutras with an exhaustive discussion of the various theories in their proper places. It is interesting to see how, in the Brahma Sutras, Bādarāyana considers the theories of other Vedantins.

	<i>Bādarāyaṇa</i>	<i>Jaimini</i>	<i>Āśmarathya</i>
1. Vaisvānara ...	Paramātma I. ii. 24-27	Agni I. ii. 28	
2. Brahman ...	Nirguna I. ii. 30	Person for Dhyāna I. ii. 31	Prādeśanātra for Upasana I. ii. 29
3. Adikāra for Brahma Vidya	Devas too Adhikāris I. iii. 26, 27, 33	Adhikāris, not being Adhikāris for Madhu-Vidya I. iii. 31-32	
4. Brahman and Jīva	(i) Ākṣa is Brahman I. i. 22. (ii) One- III. iv. 8	Ākṣa-Para- mātma. Jīvat- ma-earthly I. iv. 18	Kārya-Kāraṇ I. iv. 20
5. Karma	Sukta-Dus- Ikta III. i. 11		
6. Karmaphala	Īvara gives phala (Mi- māṃsakas- Karma gives phala) III. ii. 41	Dharma gives phala III. ii. 40	
7. Gñāna for Mukti	Brahma-Gñā- na gives Mo- ksa (not so, Mimāṃsakas) III. iv. 1	Artha-Vidya III. iv. 2-7	
8. Sannyāsa ...	Sāmya Bruti III. iv. 19	Bruti rules out Sannyāsa III. iv. 18	
9. Upasana (Angava- buddha)		Not opposed to change of Āśrama III. iv. 40	

*Jābāla**Andulōmi**Kāśakṛtsna**Kāriṇājini**Ātreyā*

In Bihru-
Madhya
Desā.
I. vi. 32

Bheda up to
Mokṣa
I. iv. 21

Bimba-
Pratibimba
I. iv. 22

Achāra avayava
of Karma-
(upalakṣana)
III. i. 9

For Rtvik
III. iv. 45

For
Yajamān
III. iv. 44

	<i>Bādarūyana</i>	<i>Jaimini</i>	<i>Āśmarathya</i>
10. Brahma	Hiranyagarbha IV. iii. 7-11 Ahangrahpā- sana, to Brahma Lōka; Pratikōpāsana, to lower lōkas IV. iii. 15	Para-Brahma IV. iii. 12	
11. Goal of Upasana	Life's enjoy- ments no bar to Brahma- Siddhi IV. iv. 7	Even Nirguna- Upāsana takes only to Hira- nyagarbha IV. iv. 5	
12. Body after death	No sthūla sa- rira. IV. iv. 10 Both hold good IV. iv. 12	With sthūla- sarira IV. iv. 11	

From the above analysis it will be seen that Vēda-Vyāsa has discussed threadbare the theories connected with Brahma-Vidya and formulated his conclusions definitely. That is why Śri Kṛṣṇa says that Brahma-Vidya has been clearly dealt with in the Brahma Sutras with codified reasons for the different theories. Vēda-Vyāsa is definite that the goal of Brahma-Vidya is Mukti or Brahma-Stuyujya, through Brahma-Gñāna and Nirguna-Upāsana, Saguṇa Upāsana being the necessary step to it, as Karma is for Gñāna.

IV

After thus codifying the Vēdas and formulating the Brahma Sutras, Vēda-Vyāsa took up the task of compiling the story of the Pāndavas, with whom he was closely associated in his life. In fact it was he that gave birth to Dhṛitarāṣṭra, Pāndu and Vidura. The virtues of the Pāndavas and their sufferings elicited the sympathy of Vyāsa, as they did the active sympathy of Śri Kṛṣṇa and several virtuous monarchs and sages of the day. When his son Śuka left the world, he broke up his Āśrama in Badari, and

Jābilā *Andulōmī* *Kāśakṛtsna* *Kāriṇājīni* *Ātreyā*

Brahman is
attained to,
not Brahma
Loka
IV. iv. 6

went to the banks of the Sarasvati and stayed away there in seclusion. He went to the Pāndavas whenever he knew they were in any irksome situation and was of great help to them spiritually at every stage. These occasions are referred to in the Mahābhārata by himself; and in the Devi-Bhāgavata, he tells Nārada that, though he was a sage, he could not but be swayed by Mōsta (attachment) towards the Pāndavas, firstly, because they were of his blood and secondly, because they were ever virtuous. The main theme of the Mahābhārata is that Hari or Śri Kṛṣṇa modelled the fortunes of the Pāndavas, as requested by Indra on the Gomanta Hill. (Harivamsa. II. 19). The Pāndavas had the grace of Durga, who took birth as the child of Yasoda for confounding Kamsa, the Āśuric King of Mathura. The third idea that is prominent in the Bhārata is that he who cares for his own interests is left severally alone by God while he who works for the good of others, subduing his own self *mamatva* gets all the good things of this world and of the heaven. Harivamsa deals with the story and the glory of Śri Kṛṣṇa. The Devi-Bhāgavata deals with the power and the glory of Devi. The Mārkandeya Purāṇa

illustrates the truth of the principle that selfness (*Mamatva*) ruins one, while Nirmamatva saves the body and the soul of man ultimately in this world and in the life beyond death. If we should thus examine all the works of Vēda-Vyāsa through the whole range of our pauranic literature, we are sure to see that one thread runs through the whole texture of the works of this great sage of Bharatavarṣa. It is idle to contend that Vēda-Vyāsa is but a name to conjure with and no more. He was a star of the first magnitude in the literary horizon of this great Land, the Land known as Karmabhūmi.

When King Janamejaya was performing the Sarpayāga to avenge the death of his father Parikshit under unnatural circumstances, his disciple Vaisampāyana related the Mahābhārata at the bidding of Vyāsa. This was repeated by Śūta in later times to the Saunaka R̥ṣis in Naimiśaranya to relieve them from the sufferings of this age of Kali. After the Mahābhārata was completed and the Sarpayāga was stopped by Āstika the son of Jaratkāru (the sage) and Jaratkāru (the sister of Vāsuki), Janamejaya wanted to know the full story of Śri Krṣṇa, who had done so much for his ancestors. Then Vyāsa told the Harivamsa to Janamejaya. After it was over, Janamejaya was still overwhelmed with grief and could not get peace of mind thinking again and again of the *Durmarana*, the unnatural end, of his father. Then Vyāsa related to Janamejaya the Devi-Bhāgavata, which he had earlier communicated to his son Śuka. Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa, asked the sage Mārkandeya for an explanation of some difficulties in the^t Mahābhārata and Mārkandeya referred him to the four Dharmabirds, who had fallen as birds, from the position of sages, by their selfness (*Mamatva*). The birds related the story of those that had risen by Vairāgya in the land of Dharma, in different ages. Thus these Purāṇas are all historically and literally connected with one another, both in the external details and in their internal structure. And yet there are critics who take pride in thinking that all these Purāṇas represent the fictitious imaginings of different sets of writers to glorify one section or another, at the expense of others, for their own material ends, trying to hoodwink their lesser brethren, for their own glory.

Could there be any idea or statement more sacriligious than this for the fair name of India and Her culture? I pray that our young men and women will, in the name of education of a national type, be led into the glorious precincts of our sacred literature, in the language of the Devas, the language of Samskāra or purification of the body and the soul.

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THE FOUR VALUES IN HINDU THOUGHT

(A Study of the Puruṣārthas) :

BY P. NAGARAJA RAO

CONTEMPORARY European thought has chiefly concentrated its attention on the study of the metaphysical status and import of the three traditional values :—Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. A large number of scientific-minded Humanist Philosophers of the West have affirmed their faith in values. As against the crude materialist assertion that values are subjective, and morality is rationalised expediency, the rationalistic savants of the West have asserted the objective and intrinsic nature of values. In such a philosophic background it is worth while to examine the Indian conception of values.

Values are to be contrasted with the study of facts. Scientific observation acquaints us with facts. The study of values involves judgment. Value is a judgment that a thing is desirable (*iṣṭa*) for the well-being of man. That which acts as a means in securing the desirable end is called an instrumental value (*iṣṭa-sādhanata*). An apparent study of human wants gives us the impression that the number of instrumental values we pursue is legion. But a close scrutiny shows that most of the desired and desirable things of this earth are finite, and perishable. The stamp of mortality is deeply set on them. They yield pleasure only for the time being. Such of those instruments that secure the transient and fleeting pleasures of life are instrumental values, as contrasted with ultimate and intrinsic values. Ultimate values are ends in themselves and not means to any other end. Hence, Truth, Beauty, and Goodness are asserted as intrinsic values.

1. The term *Puruṣārtha* means human values. They are four in number *Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa*.

Hindu Philosophical thought has proclaimed that there are four different human values :—(1) Dharma = the Good, (2) Artha = Possessions, (3) Kāma = Passions, and (4) Mokṣa = Salvation. Not all of them are accepted as ultimate values. By most of the systems of Indian Philosophy Artha and Kāma are relegated to the level of instrumental values. They are not *Parama-Purupārthas* (ultimate values). Mokṣa and Dharma have been classified as ultimate and intrinsic values. Though there is a great deal of difference in the descriptions of Mokṣa given by the different schools of philosophy, still there is the great measure of agreement as to the non-return of the liberated to the Spatio-temporal world of *Samsara*. Peace, Bliss and non-return to the world of *Samsara* are the characteristics of the liberated soul.

Artha and Kāma (possessions and passions) are not discarded and despised by the Hindu Ethicist: they have a right and limited jurisdiction in the building up of human personality: they fulfil their functions only when they subserve the end Mokṣa. Wealth, valour and power are in themselves neutral. Their moral nature is determined by the use to which they are put. To merit the name instrumental values, Artha and Kāma must subserve the end Mokṣa in accordance with the behests of Dharma. The spiritual aspirant in order to attain Mokṣa need not effect a violent rupture with ordinary life. Ancient Indian culture never stood for the complete denial of the enjoyment of all the goods of life. "There was never in India a national ideal of poverty or squalor." On the other hand, there has always been an insistence of a degree of freedom from sordidness and indigence of a grinding type.

The two-fold paths advocated by Hinduism—the way of active life (*pravṛtti*) and the path of renunciation (*nivṛtti*)—have assumed an entirely new significance at the hands of the author of the Gita. The Gita idea of these two paths is an advance on the *Varnaśrama* view of it. The *Varnaśrama* view treated the life of activity (*pravṛtti*) as purely utilitarian. The good that accrued from the treading of the activity-path was useful to society as well as to the individual. The path of renunciation (*nivṛtti*) was conceived as involving the cessation of all activities

(*sarva Karma Samnyasa*). The Gita idea of morality cuts fresh ground here. The Gita insists on a life of activity with the spirit of perfect detachment to the things of the world and attachment to God. It is dead against the view of the cessation of all activities. It does not stand for *Karma Samnyasa*, but it stands for *Phalasamnyasa* (the renunciation of the fruits of the activity). The utilitarian taint attached to the life of *Pṛypti* is transferred by the spirit of the renunciation of the fruits of the activity. The detachment taught by the Gita is not stoicism, because it involves attachment to God.²

Passing on to consider the value *Dharma*, this is a most difficult sanskrit-term to render into English. We can take the *Good* as a fair equivalent of it. A liberal interpretation of the term *Dharma* means that which sustains society in perfect and just equilibrium. The securing of an atmosphere where every one can grow to the best of his nature is the effect of the presence of the value *Dharma*. It gives coherence and direction to the different activities of life. Some have interpreted the term '*Dharma*' (the *Nyāya* School) to mean 'moral merit' accruing from the performance of scripture-ordained duties. *Dharma* is ethical excellence. It is at once the substance of social as well as individual morality. It entails the cultivation of virtues like fortitude, temperance and self-restraint. Further the social aspect enjoins the performance of duties to others in accordance to the law givers. On this view the performance of *Dharma* turns out at best to be instrumental (*iṣṭa-sadhana*) towards the attainment of either heavenly bliss (*svarga*) or the enjoyment of fruits of this world.

One of the two prominent branches of the schools of *Mimamsa*, the *Prabhākara* school holds the view that *Dharma* is an ultimate value. It is posited as an end in itself and not a means to any other End. This is the Indian version of the German philosopher Kant's moral theory. Kant held that the dictates of *Practical Reason* are to be treated as categorical

2. *The Two-fold view of Life*: By Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Presidential address to the Philosophy section of the Eighth Oriental Conference, Mysore

imperatives. His dictum was "duty for duty's sake". Prabhākara insists the performance of *Dharma* for Dharma's sake. Such a formalistic ethical theory has been criticised on one and the same ground in the East as well as the West. Such a theory hardly has a content for morality and has been described as a drill sergeant's theory of morality. It is extremely formal and as such difficult to apply to life. Such a theory in the words of Sankara reduces all activities to a form of meaningless drudgery.

The Vēdānta like most other schools treats *Mokṣa* i.e. spiritual realisation as the only ultimate value and the other three are regarded as instrumental to it. *Dharma* is considered an instrumental value in a specific sense. It is instrumental not in securing the objects desired by our deluded self, born out of attachment (*rūga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*). It is instrumental in securing *Mokṣa* from which state there is no return, to this world of sorrow and rebirth. The desire for *Mokṣa* is born out of *Gñāna* and not delusion. *Dharma* is not instrumental to the realisation of secular Ends, but it is used here to achieve the supreme spiritual ideal.

Prof. M. Hiriyanna in his address to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona has pointed out that Indian Philosophy is essentially a Philosophy of Values.³ If the term value means, being ultimate and intrinsic, the Indian conception that *Mokṣa* is the only such value is hardly refutable. The Western conception Truth, Beauty and Goodness as ultimate values hardly stands the test of critical analysis. Like the Indian theists or after the manner of Christianity the three traditional values have to be concretised in the personality of a Deity. Without such a concretisation the ontological status of the values, however cleverly bolstered up by the Realist epistemologies, do not commend itself to our acceptance. Realising the barrenness of abstract dialectics Indian Philosophy proclaimed *Mokṣa* as the only supreme value. *Mokṣa* is a realisation and not a mere understanding. It is an immediate awareness of the universal in us. "Indian Philosophy

3. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, Part I, 1938, P. 1 to 22.

does not stop short at the discovery of truth, but utilises it for attaining of something else which it holds as the supreme value.⁴ The supreme object of philosophy, (according to all schools) is to help man out of misery and restlessness and bestow the enjoyment of unalloyed bliss. This can never happen if Truth is to be treated as an ultimate value and as instrumental towards the spiritual realisation. Hence Indian Philosophers have to remove Truth from the high pedestal of being an ultimate value. Truth for Truth's sake, art for art's sake are dogmas unacceptable to the Hindu view. All are useful for the realisation of the *Atman*. Even the little and short-lived desires that we have for the things of this world are due to our love of the *Atman*.⁴ Philosophy is not a mere game of speculation to the Hindu mind. It is a serious attempt to find the ways and means to escape from the trammels of *samsara* and get at spiritual realisation. It arises out of a deep pragmatic need to seek something permanent and avoid the flux of births and deaths.

The third of the traditional values of the West 'Beauty' has attracted the Hindu mind, and there is some difference of opinion about it among the ancient thinkers. The puritans have not disguised their distrust of Beauty and its expression in several arts. Manu the ancient Law Giver reckons in his list of weaknesses (*vyasanas*) song, dance and instrumental music. There was this view that all forms of aesthetic pleasures are disguises of sensual pleasure. Hence it was not even praised as an instrumental value.

Side by side with this view there were others who held the view that art and beauty were intrinsically valid and objective experiences. Kālidasa in his *Mālavikagnimitra* makes the dancing Master say that "the high esteem in which he holds his art is on account of its intrinsic merit, not because he professes it." Some others hold the view that art leads to the experiencing

4. Yāgnavalkya in the famous discourse to his wife Maitreyi on the eve of his retirement to the forest says: "Verily, my dear, it is not for the love of the husband that the husband is dear, but it is for the love of the *atman*, that the husband is dear,.....verily it is not for the love of all things that all things are dear, but for the love of the *Atman* that all things are dear."

of aesthetic ecstasy (*rasanubhava*) which they say is akin to Brahman realisation (with this difference that the artist returns to the world of facts after he lapses from the aesthetic experience and the *mukta* knows no return to the world of *Samsara*).

Taking these different views the verdict of Indian thought is largely in favour of the view to treat beauty and art as instrumental values. There is no denial of the fact that beauty has an irresistible and universal appeal. This is an unique frame of mind characteristic of the artist. The contemplative mood which is very near the *niṣ-kāma-karma* attitude helps the spiritual aspirant. Some have regarded art as the yoga of the layman. The artistic detachment born out of the psychical distance maintained by the artist goes a great way to help the spiritual aspirant. *Rasa* realisation is a step on the onward march to Brahman realisation. Thus we find that according to the Indian view all the three values (of the Western as well as Eastern list) are subsidiary to one and the same end *Moksha*.

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On the Ancient Greek Myth about Adonis as a Vegetation Spirit or Corn-spirit

BY THE LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IN the mythology of the ancient Greeks, Adonis is described as being a young man possessed of remarkable beauty, and as being the favourite of the goddess Aphrodite (or Venus). According to one ancient Greek myth he was the son of the Syrian King named Theias by his daughter named Smyrna (Myrrha) who had been inspired by Aphrodite with incestuous love. When Theias discovered the truth, he was about to kill his daughter. But the gods took pity on Smyrna and metamorphosed her into a tree bearing the same name, that is to say, into the myrrh-tree.

After ten months, the tree burst asunder and out of it was produced Adonis. Being charmed by the baby's exquisite beauty Aphrodite concealed the new-born infant in a box and made him over to Persephone for being nursed and molly-coddled by her.

When the child grew up and Aphrodite demanded him back from Persephone, the latter refused to give him back to the former. Thereupon an appeal was made to Zeus who decided that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Persephone, and a third with Aphrodite, the remaining four months of the year being at his own disposal.

According to the version given in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* Adonis was killed by a boar; and this version was followed by Shakespeare.

Festivals called the Adonia were annually held in honour of Adonis at Byblus, and also, from the fifth century B.C. onwards at different places in Greece. The main object of this festival was to express sorrow and grief for the death of Adonis who was generally represented by an effigy which was subsequently thrown into the water.

From a study of the foregoing ancient Greek myth and of the researches made by J. G. Frazer and L. R. Farnell upon the subject thereof, we find that:—

- (1) Scholars are now generally agreed in opining that Adonis was a vegetation-spirit whose death and return to life symbolised the decay of nature during the winter season, and the revival thereof during the spring time.
- (2) In the form of the "Adonia" festival which was celebrated at Athens, a noteworthy rite which was performed therein was the formation of what were known as "Adonis Gardens" which were nothing but pots sown with seeds. These seeds were forced to grow artificially. But the seedlings in the "Adonis Garden" withered away quickly.

The formation of these "Adonis Gardens" bears a strong similarity to the underdescribed rite which is performed in Lower Bengal on the occasion of the "Itu" Festival.

The Itu-Puja is celebrated, as far as my knowledge goes, only in Lower Bengal and commences on the Sankranti or last day of the Bengali month of Agrahayana (November—December) and is concluded on the Sankranti or last day of the Bengali month of Poush (December—January) of every year. The name "Itu" of the deity, who is worshipped on this occasion, is a corruption of the word "Mitu" which is, again a corruption of the sanskrit word "Metra" this last word being the name of the Sun-God. This being so, the Itu-Pooja is nothing but the worship of the Sun-god and is, most likely, performed to ensure the growth of bumper crops and to secure prosperity resulting from good harvests. This puja or worship is performed on the last days of the Bengali months of Agrahayana and Poush and on the intervening Sundays that is to say, on six days.

The offerings presented to the Sun-deity on the occasion of this puja or worship are some miniature clay jugs and cups which are coloured white and adorned with drawings, on the outside thereof, of lines and spots of a reddish brown colour. These are called "Itur Bhand". But the most important offering is that of an earthen saucer or pan which is filled with mud from the bed of river Ganges and sown with the "Five cereals" that is

to say, with the five kinds of seeds, namely (1) barley, (2) pea, (3) mash kalari pulse (*Phaseolus raditus*), (4) mung pulse (*Phaseolus anratus*) and (5) mustard. Sometimes, corns of the edible arum (*coccosia antiquorum*) are also planted along with the aforementioned five kinds of seeds, in the Ganges-mud in the earthen pan or saucer. These miniature seed-plots or "Adonis Gardens" are irrigated with water on the six days of worship mentioned above. The seeds, as also the corns of arum sprout and grow up into small plants.

The rites with which this worship of the Sun-deity are performed are, very likely, the same as those performed on the occasion of worshipping the other deities of the higher Hindu pantheon.

After the puja has been finished on the last day of the month of Poush, the "saucer-gardens" with the plants growing in them which I may appropriately describe, are the "Adonis-Gardens" of Lower Bengal, are thrown away into a river or a tank. The miniature clay jugs and cups are distributed as play-things among the children of the household.

The question now arises: why are these "Adonis-Gardens" of Lower Bengal planted and presented as offerings to the Sun-god?

In reply to this question, I must say that "sympathetic magic" or Imitative Magic underlies the planting of these miniature seed plots or "Saucer Gardens".

It is a well-known scientific fact that sun-shine is essentially necessary for the growth of plants and, for the matter of that, of all kinds of food crops. In order that the Sun-God may be so far propitiated and coaxed as to promote the growth of vegetation and to grant bumper crops, a miniature garden is planted in which the action of the sun's rays in the shape of promoting the growth of the vegetation is imitated by forcing the seeds and corns of arum to grow.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the similarity between the "Adonis Gardens" of the ancient Greeks, and the miniature "Saucer Gardens" of the Bengalis is complete.

- (3) The myth describing the squabble between Aphrodite and Persephone for the possession of Adonis bears a strong resemblance to the story of Tamuz and Ishtar. "In other words, Aphrodite is the Oriental Mother-goddess; Adonis is her lover; the details have been influenced by the legend of Demeter".
- (4) The ceremonies performed at the festival of Adonia have been interpreted by competent scholars to be a charm for promoting the growth of vegetation. While the throwing of the "Adonis Gardens" and of the effigies of Adonis into the water, has been interpreted by them to be another charm to ensure the falling of copious rain. (Mannhardt has pointed out other European parallels of these rites.)
- (5) Sir J. G. Frazer, however, thinks that Adonis is not a God of vegetation generally, but is specially a corn-spirit. He is further of opinion that the mourning for Adonis is not made for the decay of vegetation, during winter, but is observed for the cruel treatment which is meted out to the corn by the reaper (in the shape of cutting the corn with his sickle) and by the miller (in the shape of grinding the corn in his mill.) (G. Robert Burns's John Barley Corp.)
- (6) An important point in the foregoing ancient Greek myth is the connection of the Adonis with the boar. It has been suggested that Adonis himself was, very likely, incarnate in the swine.
- (7) It has been already pointed out that, according to one account, Adonis was slain by a boar. If we accept this version, we will find that the boar's slaying of Adonis is an instance of "a god having been sacrificed to himself as his own enemy" which has a parallel in the sacrifice of the goat and bull to Dionysius.
- (8) Then again, "whenever sacrifices of swine occur in the ritual of Aphrodite, there is reference to Adonis. In any case, the conception of Adonis as a swine-god does not contradict the idea of him as a vegetation or corn-spirit which, in many parts of Europe, appears in the form of a boar or sow."

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT*

BY S. SRIKANTAYA

SIR SARAVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN delivered a series of addresses between the years 1936-38 before the University of Oxford, the World Congress of Faiths, London, the Royal Society of Arts and elsewhere. They are collected together in "Eastern Religions and Western Thought" a work published by the Oxford University Press marking the turning point in Western civilization, written with earnest conviction and conspicuous ability. It draws the attention of the west to neglected opportunities in spite of long association with a much older and maturer civilization. It is a challenge, as Professor Muirhead points out, alike to the traditionalism which look to events in the past and to modernism which look to events in the future instead of to values which are eventless and timeless, as the ground of their faith.

The development in the means of communications on land, air and sea has led to a shrinkage of the world for all practical purposes. With the progress of mankind on one side proceeds apace endless destruction throughout the globe. In this quickly changing world, without the establishment of the rule of law both for individuals and states, there is no peaceful life upon the earth. Highly civilised nations as well as primitive peoples with their varying civilization and cultures will equally suffer. World problems must be studied from an international family point of view and political, social and economic policies must subserve the common interests of humanity. With this view, an endeavour is made to cull a few flowers from the work of Sir Radhakrishna and present them to the public in grateful appreciation. After it was first published, we are all overpowered by a cataclysm which has convulsed the world and this work has assumed also a topical importance.

* *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan.
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The modern civilization with its scientific temper, humanistic spirit, and a secular view of life is uprooting the world over the customs of long centuries and creating a ferment of restlessness. The new world cannot remain a confused mass of needs and impulses, ambitions and activities, without any control or guidance of the spirit. The void created by abandoned superstitions and uprooted beliefs calls for a spiritual filling. A new humanism embraces the whole of mankind without creed or sect or race. For, "so long as one man is in prison, I am not free; so long as one community is enslaved, I belong to it." The supreme task of our generation is to give a soul to the growing world-consciousness, to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world-soul, to transmit these loyalties and impulses to future generations and train them into world citizens. To this great work of creating a new pattern of living, some of the fundamental insights of Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, seem to be particularly relevant. No culture, and no country, lives or had a right to live for itself and the contributions of ancient Greece, of the Roman Empire, or renaissance Italy to the progress of humanity do not concern only the people of these parts, for they are a part of the heritage of humanity itself. Human history has many developments. Man cannot rest in an unresolved discord. Attempts to bring about human unity through mechanical means or through political adjustments have proved abortive and the unity of the human race cannot thereby be enduringly accomplished. There must be a soul of being, the determining principle of body and mind each changing the minds and hearts of men.

Humanism is the religion of the majority of the intellectuals today. We have no strong public opinion, or effective international law to restrain the predatory state and this is responsible for the world crisis today. The pharaohs of Egypt, the sages of China, and the seers of India are guide-posts disclosing to us the course of the trail. Religion has been the master passion of the Hindu mind, a lamp unto its feet and a light unto its path, the presupposition and basis of its civilization, the driving force of its culture, and the expression—in spite of its tragic failures, inconsistencies, divisions and degradations—of its life in God. Hinduism

adopts a rationalist attitude in the matter of religion. In the theistic systems, the essential thing is not the existence of the deity but its power to transform man. Brahman is the principal search as well as the object sought, the animating ideal and its fulfilment. The very fact that we seek God clearly proves that life cannot be without him. God is life and the recognition of this fact is spiritual consciousness. The process of self-discovery is not the result of intellectual analysis but of the attainment of a human integrity reached by a complete mastery over nature.

From the beginning of her history, India has adored and idealized not soldiers and statesmen, not men of science and captains or leaders of industry, not even poets and philosophers, who influence the world by their deeds or by their words, but those rarer and more chastened spirits, whose greatness lies in what they are and not in what they do; men who have stamped infinity on the thought and life of the country; men who have added to the invisible forces of goodness in the world. To a world given over to the pursuit of power and pleasure, and wealth and glory, they declare the reality of the unseen world and the call of the spiritual life. Their self-possession and self-command, their strange deep wisdom, their exquisite courtesy, their humility and gentleness of soul, their abounding humanity, proclaim that the destiny of man is to know himself and thereby further the universal life of which he is an integral element.

The human being has his roots in the invisible though his life belongs to the passing stream of the visible. His evolution is a constant self-transcending until he reaches his potential and ultimate nature which the appearances of life conceal or only very inadequately express. Body and mind, instinct and intellect become the willing servants of the spirit and not its tyrannical masters. The uniqueness of man among all the products of nature lies in this, that in him nature seeks to exceed itself consciously, no longer by an automatic or unconscious activity, but by mental and spiritual effort. Man is not a plant or an animal but a thinking and spiritual being set to shape his nature for higher purposes.

Greek civilization was a magnificent achievement of the human reason and it was by no means one-sided. The Greek

inheritance has enabled the west to remake the world. Earth, sea and air have been made to yield to the service of man. Though the triumphs of intellect are greater, its failures are no less great. Left to himself, man feels kinship with the whole universe especially with living things and human beings. We believe that we have conquered nature, simply because science has pushed the boundaries of the unknown farther from us. Yet, we are as far as ever from having conquered our own nature. Life today, in spite of our material possessions and intellectual acquisitions, in spite of our moral codes and religious doctrines, has not given us happiness. Looking down the ages, age after age, world after world, man finds advancing along the corridors of time, trying to control his difficult, discordant, divided self and asking, shall I never escape from this delusion? Religion is the conquest of fear, the antidote to failure and death. Avidyā or ignorance is the source of anguish and vidyā or wisdom, buddhi or enlightenment brings salvation. Abhaya or freedom from fear, is a temper of mind, not the acceptance of a belief or the practice of a rite. Abhaya and alimṣa, awareness and sympathy, freedom and love, are two features, theoretical and practical, of religion. When the Hindu thinkers ask us to free ourselves from māya, they are asking us to shake off our bondage to the unreal values which are dominating us. They do not ask us to treat life as an illusion or be indifferent to the world's welfare. They are asking us to escape from the illusion which holds us by the throat and makes us pursue physical satisfaction or corporate self-seeking as the highest end. How can we rise above the present vision of the world with its austere individualism, its economic interpretations of history, and materialistic views of life? By purification, concentration and identification. For a disciplined mind, ordinary life or familiar surroundings are no distraction. If people sometimes go to the hill tops or monasteries, deserts and caves, it is because they are places which help to draw the soul away from its familiar surroundings. This withdrawal from the world into a solitary retreat is not essential, though it is helpful. Pratyāhāra is what generally is known as abstraction. The three other stages are dhāraṇa or concentration, dhyāna or meditation, and samādhi or

unification. We can reach the depths of nature by bursting through the outer strata. The process of vital realization of God is not a comfortable one for those of us who are given to the delights of the flesh and love of visible things. In *samādhi* or ecstatic consciousness, we have a sense of immediate contact with ultimate reality, of the unification of the different sides of our nature. The soul in solicitude is the birth of religion. Moses on the lonely Mount of Sinai, Buddha under the Bodhi Tree lost in contemplation, Jesus by the Jordan in the stillness of prayer, Paul in the lonely sojourn in the desert, Muhammad on a solitary mount at Mecca, Francis of Assisi in his prayers in the remote crags of the highlands of Alverno, found the strength and the assurance of the reality of God. Everything that is great, new, and creative in religion arises out of the unfathomable depths of the soul in the quiet prayer, in the solitude of meditation. Religion is a way of life: it is the seeking of the eternal. Whatever religion people may profess, the mystics are spiritual kinsmen as Lalla has told us and the mystics always stand for fellowship amidst rivalry of creeds as well as above the conflict of race and the strife of nations. Mysticism is a word ill-favoured by the rationalist as well as by the dogmatic theologian. It is criticized as a tendency to see things cloudily in a golden or sentimental haze, to justify the habits of the human mind to entertain contradictory beliefs at the same time, to exact confusion of thought. Mysticism is none of these things. It is the admission of mystery in the universe. As Einstein puts it "the fairest things we can experience is the mysterious. It is the fundamental emotion which stands at the cradle of true art and true science." Religion itself may take three forms, primitive or sensuous, reflective and mystical and the last is not a mere speculation of reason or a feeling of dependence a mode of behavior. It is something which our entire self is, feels and does; it is the concurrent activity of thought, feeling and will. We find in the epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* stress laid on the joy of life and the dignity of man, an eager desire for personal pre-eminence and love of adventure. The *Bhagavadgītā* exalts the idea of action as a way to God. Rāmānuja and the long line of theists who came after him affirmed

the reality of the world and the efficacy of action. They are to be treated as having departed from the main tradition. If Gandhi and Tagore today adopt an ethical view of life, it is certainly to be traced to their contact with the Christian West. Material civilization cannot be accounted for by the principles of scientific naturalism. Progress is not its own end. It is the ultimate reality; it cannot ever be completed. We can get nearer and nearer the goal, but cannot reach it. Its process has neither the beginning nor an end.

The spirit in man is different from the individual ego. It is that which animates and exercises the individual, the vast background of his being in which all individual lies. The heart of religion is that man truly belongs to another order, and the meaning of man's life is to be found not in this world but in more than historical reality. His highest aim is to obtain release from the historical succession denoted by birth and death. Śaṅkara, rightly credited with the systematic formulation of the doctrine of māya, tells us that the highest reality is unchangeable, and therefore the changing existence such as human history has not ultimate reality. He warns us however, against the temptation to regard what is not completely real as utterly illusory. The world has an empirical being which is quite different from illusory existence. Simply because the world of experience is not the perfect form of reality, it does not follow that it is a delusion, without any significance. The world is not a phantom, though it is not real. Brahman is said to be the real of the real, *satyasyasat�am*. In all objective consciousness, we are in a sense aware of the real. Śaṅkara does not tell us that the process of the world is perpetual recurrence, in which events of the past cycles are represented in all their details. The explanation offered by Śaṅkara admits that the Universe is dependent on the Absolute, though not the Absolute on the Universe. A distinction is made between manifestation or transformation and one-sided dependence. The illustrations used in explaining the latter type of dependence suggest the illusory theory of the world. Mysticism has also its fanatics who look upon the real as spiritual freedom and contrast it with the actual in its bondage declaring that birth is an error of the soul and our

chance of liberation lies in shaking off these shackles. Mokṣa or release is the extinction of the individual, his annulment in the Absolute. Since the world is an illusion, it is a waste of energy to spend labour and heroism in battling with its merely illusory events. This view cannot be accepted since the path of the universe becomes then an aimless one. Saṃkara has nothing in common with people who will not accept the visible world any more than with those who will accept nothing else. The liberated individual works for the welfare of the world. As the Bhagavadgītā tells us, man does not attain to the state of being without work by undertaking no work, nor does he reach perfection by shunning the world. It is improper for a man to remain without sharing in the work of the world even when God consents to work for the universe. For a knower of Brahman, there is no wealth comparable to unity, sameness, truthfulness, virtue, steadfastness, non-injury, candour, and withdrawal from all activities. The great teachers are united in thinking that the soul of man is more precious than the immensity of the world and its growth is effected in moments of leisure and meditation. To grow more profound, to grasp essential truth, is the special privilege of man. But this is not to shirk living or to run away from life. We have to fight not nature's death but man-made death. There are the great catastrophes of famine, flood and earthquakes. They cause suffering and devastation, and yet is not Gibbon right when he says that man has much more to dread from the passion of his fellow-creatures than from the convulsions of the elements? Gibbon wrote many years ago, but have we improved since his time? Have we abolished the rivalries of mankind? Is not economic competition quite as ruthless as war itself, though less dramatic and spectacular? Slow grinding starvation is not less deadly in its effects than bombs and bullets. Religion has to fight against wars, social, military and economic, even though it may mean loss of dividends to a few individuals. Until the dignity of life, the importance of human happiness, and a horror of subjection under any guise become functioning realities, our economic, our racial, and our national Utopias will remain inhuman monstrosities demanding the murder of bodies and souls. The essential

unity of human thought and divine spirit, the immortality of the human soul, the escape from the restless wheel of troublesome journey, the phenomenality of the world, the contempt for the body, the distinction between knowledge and opinion contradict every single idea of Greek popular religion.

Though Asia and Europe are different, they are not so completely different as to disallow an interchange of goods, material and spiritual. From the mystic tendencies in the two streams may be noticed their affinity of type more than their identity of origin. The Olympian religion of the Greek and Vedic beliefs had a common background. There is also striking similarity between the social life described in the Homeric poems and in the *Vedas*. The ethical and religious speculations of the Jews derived largely from the culture which was common to Sumer, Egypt and the Indus. There is great agreement between the teaching of the *Upanisads* on the nature of reality and the Eleatic doctrine, between the *Sankhya* teaching and the views of Empedocles and Anaxagoras. To the student of cultural development, similarities are not due to borrowing but are the result of parallel intellectual evolution; the important thing is that the ideas are similar. Cultural influences travelled along the interesting avenues of trade and brought importance to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the Mediterranean Sea-board and the Nile region in different periods of the world's history. The leavening elements of the Mesopotamian civilization survive in the signs of the zodiac, the system of measuring space and time, etc. Migration of racial units combined with immemorial beliefs and customs along with weapons for peace and war and domesticated animals. Folk-beliefs of a remote age became symbolised and consolidated into a common heritage. Personification of the powers of nature and their endowment with human form and attributes became common factors and mythology tried to solve the riddle of the universe and to adjust the relations of mankind with the various forces represented by the deities. Priests systematised folk-beliefs and established an official religion. They were firmly established in India before the sixth century B.C. and they arise in Greece after that period. If Eusebius is to be trusted, we

have contemporary evidence of the presence in Athens as early as the fourth century B.C. of Indian thinkers.

Europe, it is said, would have been a very different place, more humane and peace-loving, less given to national and racial feuds, if cultural cosmopolitanism of the Stoics had been allowed to leaven the European world, if the persecutions of Marcus Aurelius had exterminated the Christian creed. The victory of Christianity was in retaining the Jewish beliefs in a living God and passion for righteousness and to absorb Greek thoughts and Roman traditions. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the State as a divine creation was supported by the apostles and the primitive Church.

In the list of inhabitants during the time of Vespasian, an Egyptian is registered as absent in India. Prof. Wilcken discovered from an inscription in the temple of Redesiye on the Red Sea Port the name of an Indian traveller who halted there to worship at the shrine of the Greek god Pan. Hindus are said to have visited the mountains of the moon (Kenya) and a spring with a flaming mouth near Baku. Still later, Cornelius Nepos says that certain Hindus were shipwrecked on the shores of the Baltic and that in the end they settled in Arabia. The river Indus was known as early as the sixth century B.C. to the Greeks. An Indian scholar was got for Alexander's tutor in the fourth century B.C. Pythagoras was considered to be the disciple of the Brahmins. The notions of Indian philosophy and religion which filtered into the Roman Empire flowed through channels opened by Alexander.

Alexander's invasion of India in 327 B.C. started a closer interchange of thought between India and the West. Apparently, Buddhism must have been prevalent in India for nearly two centuries before Alexander's time, and he made an effort to acquaint himself with the Hindu and Buddhist thought. According to the *Mahāvamśa*, at the foundation of the great stupa by the king Dutthagāmini in the year 157 B.C. the senior priest of Yona from the vicinity of Alasadda was accompanied by thirty thousand priests. Strabo on the authority of Nicolaus of Damascus states that an Indian embassy

including a thinker from Taxila who burnt himself to death at Aibus in twenty B.C., was sent to Augustus by the Indian King Poros. It is interesting to observe that the moral teachings of Jesus with its ascetic and other-worldly emphasis has been anticipated several hundred years by the Upanisads and Buddha. Nearly five hundred years before Jesus, Buddha went round the Ganges valley proclaiming a way of life which would deliver men from the bondage of ignorance and sin. In a hundred and fifty years after his death, tradition of his life and passing away became systematized. Later, Buddha himself is transfigured and his body shines with matchless brightness. With tender compassion for all beings, he set forth to establish the kingdom of righteousness, to give light to those enshrouded in darkness and open the gate of immortality to men. Both Buddha and Jesus did lay up for their disciples a treasure which neither moth nor rust would corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. Just as Buddha condemns the gloomy ascetic practices which prevailed in ancient India, Jesus goes beyond John the Baptist's emphasis on observances and ascetic rites. Many of the parables are common in both of them. To love one's enemies, to bless them that curse, to do good to them that hate, to turn the other cheek, to leave the cloak with him who takes the coat, to give all to him who asks, which are the teachings of Jesus, are precepts not only taught but practised in their extreme rigour by the Buddha in his many lives, according to the Jātakas. Buddha revolted against the complexities of the sacrificial religion as Jesus did against Jewish legalism. Both Buddha and Christ, in the spirit of the Upanisads, demanded the death or the sacrifice of the immediate material existence as the condition of the new richer life. It was the mission of both to awaken men out of a state of spiritual indifference, to kindle within them a love of righteousness, to comfort the sorrowful, to reprove as well as to redeem the guilty. The contact between India and the West was more frequent in the period of the Roman Empire, especially in the reign of Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius and the Jātakas contain many references to Buddhist merchants and their adventures in distant lands. The vast development of material prosperity

in the Roman Empire had no spiritual purpose behind it. Gnosticism was a deliberate attempt to fuse Greek and Hindu elements. It is a name for the whole system of syncretistic religious thought, which covers many sects with widely differing tenets which prevailed in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during and prior to the early days of Christianity. It existed long before the Christian era, though Christianity tended to look upon it as heresy. Many of the chief features of Gnosticism are those common to the Upanisads and the mystic traditions of the Greeks. Apollonius of Tyana, a famous Gnostic, is said to have journeyed to India and spent about four months in the monastery of the wise men as a guest of the Brahmins. To the careful student, the close similarity between the teaching of the Upanisads and early Buddhism and Gnostic theories will be obvious.

Primitive Christianity is a mystery religion, a way of living. Early Christians formed a mystery group meeting in secret and having an inner and outer circle. Christ answers to the Gnostic saviour God, the Logos and the idea of the Universe. When the Arab armies were defeated by Charles Martel near the French town of Poitiers in A.D. 732, they retreated towards Spain. This battle decided the great issue whether Christian civilization should continue or Islam prevail in Europe. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Western Europe acquired the complete body of Aristotle's logical writings in Latin translations made in Spain from the Arabic texts along with the commentaries of Arabian and Jewish philosophers. There are great similarities between Hindu, Persian and Christian forms of mysticism which may be accounted for as products of similar evolution. The Sufis combine Muhammad's prophetic faith in God with the wisdom of the Védānta and the spiritual discipline of the Yoga. Though the background of Islam is the Mediterranean culture from which the roots of Western civilization derive, it grew up under the influence of Hellenism and interpreted Hellenism to the medieval world. Christianity dismissed the followers of Islam as infidels, and later exchanges between East and West were for many centuries confined to exchanges on the battle-field between the forces of Christendom

and those of Islam. The struggle for the Indian market by the European nations began in 1498, when Vasco-da-gama discovered the sea route to India, and in 1509, when the Portuguese took possession of Goa. The lure of the East has not so far been any spiritual or human appeal but desire for gold and her company as a consumer. When universal covetousness has outstripped the means of gratifying it, when the unnatural conditions of life demand for their defence the conversion of whole nations into mechanized armies, when the supremacy of power-politics is threatened by its own inherent destructiveness, when the common people feel in their depths, blessed are the wombs which never bare and the breasts that never gave suck: it is a challenge to our principles and to our faith. The perception of the tragic humiliation of mankind must make us think deeply. The world is a moral invalid surrounded by quacks and christians, witch-doctors and medicine-men who are interested in keeping the patient in the bad habits of centuries. In spite of her great contribution to democracy, individual freedom, intellectual integrity, the Greek civilization passed away as the Greeks could not combine even among themselves on account of their loyalty to the city-states. Their exalted conceptions were not effective forces, and, except those who were brought under the mystery religions, the Greeks never developed a conception of human society in spite of the very valuable contributions of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The Roman gifts to civilization are of abounding value, but the structure of the Empire of Rome had completely ceased to exist by A.D. 500. Empires have a tendency to deprive us of our soul. Extension in growth is not necessarily a growth in spirit. Peace prevailed under the Roman rule, for none was left strong enough to oppose it. Rome had conquered the world, and had no rivals, none to struggle with or none to struggle for. The *pax Romana* reigned, but it was the peace of the desert, of sullen acquiescence and pathetic enslavement. The whole world groaned at the fall of Rome. The human race was included in the ruin. The fear of attack by barbaric hordes from every part of the world was constantly present, and the values of the spirit could not be fostered in an atmosphere of constant fear and imminent catastrophe. Philosophy failed, literature languished, and religion became rigid and superstitious.

Before Byzantium fell to the Turks in A.D. 1453, she had succeeded in spreading in the Western world the light of civilization and culture derived from Greece and Rome. And modern civilization, which took its rise after the fall of Byzantium seems to have worked itself out, for it is exhibiting today all the features which are strangely similar to the symptoms which accompany the fall of civilizations—the disappearance of tolerance and justice; the insensibility to suffering, love of ease and comfort, and the selfishness of individuals and groups; the rise of strange cults which exhibit not so much the stupidity of man as his unwillingness to use his intellectual powers; the wanton segregation of men into groups based on blood and soil.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 destroyed the last remains of the Roman Empire in the East and ushered in a new era. Rule expresses truth and justifies conduct and the passion for law, for rule, dominates Kant's philosophy. The influence of the renaissance aided the breaking of the power of the Papacy, in the establishment of Protestantism, and the right of free inquiry. The Christian theology which was once based on a sovereign act of God transcends all human powers of comprehension, gets readily rationalized and is recommended on the ground that it can be reconciled with scientific truth and ethical value.

In Hinduism, the attitude of freedom and generosity to other faiths is bound up with the conviction that the religious life has its source and certainty in the eternal depths of man's soul. In Indian thought, there is a theistic current, which refuses to blur the distinctiveness of individuals and looks upon God not only as immanent but as transcendent, and advocates prayer and personal appeal to the infinite instead of quiet and contemplation. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, the Bhagavadgītā, the theistic reformers such as Rāmānuja and Madhvā, and saints like Tukārām and Tulasidās, represent this tendency. In them, we find a fervent and tender, frank and vigorous life of prayer and communion with a personal God. Yet, the other tendency is the more prominent one. There is enough justification for regarding the mystic elements in the West as Indian. Science cannot minister to the needs of the soul; dogmatism cannot meet the needs of the intellect.

Atheism and dogmatism, scepticism and blind faith are not the only alternatives. We require a religion which is both scientific and humanistic. Religion, science, and humanism were sisters in India; they were allies in Greece. They must combine today if we are to attract all those who are equally indifferent to organised religion and atheism, to supernaturalism and nihilism. We need a spiritual home where we can live without surrendering the rights of reason or the needs of humanity. Reverence for truth is the moral value. It is dearer than Buddha and Jesus. Truth is opposed, not to reason or the Greek spirit, but to dogma and fossilized tradition. We cannot rest the case of religion any more on dogmatic supernaturalism. It is an inheritance of thought and aspirations to which every race in India has made its distinctive contribution. The Dravidians were more scattered throughout the continent and had developed a high civilization before the second millennium B.C. The Vedic Āryans had conflicts with Dasyus, whom they described as noseless, obviously a reference to their racial type. The Vedas mention the disapproval of the worshipper of the Phallus. Conflicts between Devas and Asuras are frequently mentioned. We find in the Rg Veda, Varuṇa and Mitra being called noble Asuras. Deities like Indra seem to belong to a rustic, semi-nomadic, half-barbarous people, while Varuṇa and Mitra suggest a somewhat higher level of culture. In reality, however, they were accepted by the Vedic Āryans. While the Vedas represented the religion of the classes, the masses continued to worship their traditional deities, Yakṣas and Nāgas. Behind the facade of Vedic orthodoxy and its tendency to abstract symbolism, an extensive and deep-rooted system of popular beliefs and cults and a decided tendency to the antitopomorphic prevailed. The Vedic religion, however, absorbed, embodied, and preserved the types and rituals of older cults. The interpenetration has been so complete, subtle, and continuous, with the result that there has grown up a distinct Hindu civilization which is neither Āryan nor Dravidian nor aboriginal. Ever since the dawn of reflection, the dream of unity has hovered over the scene and haunted the imagination of the leaders. The Real is one, the learned call it by various names, Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan. Priests and poets with words make into

many the hidden reality which is but one; the one spoken of or imagined in different ways. The Upanisads adopt the same view. The oneness of the supreme is insisted on, but variety of description is permitted. The light of absolute truth is said to be refracted as it passes through the distorting medium of human nature. In the boundless being of the Brahman are all the living powers that men have worshipped as gods, not as if they were standing side by side in space, but each a facet mirroring the whole. The different deities are symbols of the fathomless. The spread of Hinduism is described in the epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Though in them the facts of history are obscure in a haze of legend, they represent the great age of conflict, emigration, and adjustment out of which a civilization with old ideas but new accents emerges. By the time the cultural conquest of India was over, the civilization developed altered values. A strong onrush of devotional feeling pervaded the whole atmosphere. Worship was laid to the Supreme under different names. According to the Bhagavadgita, the Supreme accepts us as we are, no matter how we approach Him, for all paths in which we may wander are His. In the supreme vision which Arjuna has, he sees the different deities within the boundless form of the Supreme. The Supreme which is essentially one, according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, assumes the name of Brahma at the time of creation, of Viṣṇu while maintaining it, and of Śiva at the time of destruction. Śankara did not believe in a God who denied the existence of his rivals. Though the religions of Islam and Christianity by their militant attitude occasionally provoked similar developments in Hinduism, its prevailing note continues to be one of understanding and acceptance of the bona fides of other faiths. Rāmakṛṣṇa experimented with different faiths, tested them in his own person to find out what is of enduring worth in them. He meditated on the Q'ran and practised the prescribed rites. He studied Christianity, and lived like a Christian anchorite. Buddha, Christ and Kṛṣṇa, he declared were forms of the Supreme and they are not all. Ram Moham Roy instructs that the Brahmo Samaj should be an universal house of prayer open to all men without distinction of caste or colour, race or nation. Over the door of Santiniketan, the home of the Tagores,

runs an inscription, not only, 'In this place no image is to be adored', but also 'And no man's faith is to be despised'. Gandhi says: 'If I were asked to define the Hindu creed, I should simply say: search after truth through non-violent means. A man may not believe in God but still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after truth.' Hinduism is 'the religion of truth.' Truth is God. Denial of God we have known. Denial of truth we have not known. Hinduism itself has become a mosaic of almost all the types and stages of religious aspiration and endeavour. It has adapted itself with infinite grace to every human need and it has not shrunk from the acceptance of every aspect of God conceived by man, and yet has preserved its unity by interpreting the different historical forms and modes, emanations, or aspects of the Supreme.

A world bristling with armaments and gigantic intolerance where all men, women, and children are so obsessed by the imminence of the catastrophe that streets are provided with underground refuges, that private houses are equipped with gas proof rooms, that citizens are instructed in the use of gas-masks and slit trenches, is conclusive evidence of the general degradation. East and West are both moving out of their historical past towards a way of thinking which shall eventually be shared in common by all mankind even as the material appliances are. The Greco-Roman has for its chief elements rationalism, humanism, and the sovereignty of the states. The second current in Western religious life is a Jewish one. In the dark ages which may be regarded as extending from the end of the fifth century to the establishment of feudalism in the eleventh century, Europe weltered in ignorance and misery and lived in constant peril and pleasure. In the middle ages, faith was dominant and doubt was suppressed. Philosophy in the middle ages was scholasticism, and the greatest of the schoolmen was Thomas Aquinas. Man is altogether different from God. His place in the scheme is intermediate between non-intelligent matter on the one hand and pure intelligence on the other. When we look upon morality as a mere conformity to commands imposed on us by external authority and obeyed in the last resort not from any sense

of the intrinsic goodness of the act commanded, but because it is commanded and disobedience will mean unpleasant consequences, it becomes a species of self-seeking. To make virtue a means to the avoidance of happiness in the after-life is to degrade it, and that is what the medieval theologians did with their lurid pictures of torments. With the break-up of the feudal organization of society, competitive spirit and the profit motive covered the whole field of man's activities. In religion, hatred of Catholics and Protestants grew up. Wars of religion increased.

The Hindu view of the individual and his relation to society can be best brought out by a reference to the synthesis and gradation of the four-fold order of society (*Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra varjas*) and the four-fold stages of life (*Brahmacarya*, *grhasta*, *vīnaprasta* and *sanyāsa asramas*). The four ends of life point to the different sides of human nature, the instinctive and the emotional, the economic, the intellectual and the ethical and the spiritual. Within the four-fold scheme of the order of society, each individual has to follow his own nature and arrive at his possible perfection by a growth from within. The four-fold stages of life have for its aim, like the other schemes, the development of the individual; for life is a progress through stages.

The world of mortals is an interdependent organisation and world peace is only possible by a proper adjustment of wealth, labour and leisure. If we do not alter the frame-work of the social system and the international order, which are based on force and the exploitation of the inferior individuals and backward nations, world peace will be a wild dream. While resolved to renounce nothing, this generation wishes to enjoy the fruits of renunciation.

As His late Highness the Yuvarāja of Mysore (Kantirava Narasimharāja Wadiyar Bahadur) said in his last message to the people of Mysore: "Let us work for a common understanding... different religions are needed to suit different temperaments. They are like the notes of some rich chord of harmony, or like various colours of a rainbow arising out of the common white light, so that all the religions together speak out the one truth of God, and in their many syllables the one divine name is heard."

"We are at the dawn of a new era and of the renaissance of the ancient glory and culture of our motherland, let us therefore consecrate ourselves to a life of harmony, good-will and understanding, full of faith in religious tolerance and unity, and go forward, with zeal and courage, to secure as equal partners in the British commonwealth, our rightful place among the great nations of the world, for the lasting benefit of humanity."

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REVIEWS

Tagore Birthday Number of the Visva-Bharati Quarterly—Edited by K. R. Kripalini. Published by the Visvabharati Office, Santiniketan, Bengal. Price Rs. 5/- Postage extra as. 8.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, sage, seer, poet, inspirer and prophet of modern India was an institution by himself and his last birthday was appropriately celebrated by the publication of this number containing articles which enables the reader to obtain a better understanding of the many-sided achievements of India's greatest creative genius, particularly in the modern time. The volume of his work translated into English is itself great but in the original Bengali it is too numerous; and poetry, drama, prose of almost every description has not escaped his expansive mind. There is no field of literary activity in Bengal which has not been explored and enriched by his daring exploration and adventure. In the crowded period of a life of eighty years is found the diversity of powerful impressions and feelings characterising throughout his magnificent and incredibly fecund career. Over two thousand songs set to music and in exquisite verse and fifteen hundred paintings form a gift to the Visva-Bharati. Through the endless variety and beauty of forms he has created his inspiring lyric poetry which echo the voice of the Upanisads quivering in accents of human intimacy; and he is unique as the author of an inexhaustible stream of songs, as exquisite in their melody as in the words which embodied it. All his life he has endeavoured for human freedom and pleaded and striven for social justice, for the right of the poor to material well-being, of the citizen to self-government, of the ignorant to knowledge, of the child to natural development, of the woman to equal dignity with man and has lived for the good of humanity. He has passed away after this number but he still lives in his works, in the minds of millions and millions of his countrymen whose lives he has enriched and whose shadows he has tried to dispel by the sweetness of his song and this birthday number gives an idea of the man and the work which this great Indian Mystic has accomplished.

in his remarkable life. It is beautifully illustrated and contains a full account from his birth onwards for a period of eighty years. We congratulate the Visva-Bharati on the excellence of the work and the contributions which have been secured and on the get-up.

S.S.

Assamese Literature—By Brinchi Kumar Barua. Published by the International Book House, Ltd. Bombay. Price Re. 1·8·0.

ASSAMESE Literature by Brinchi Kumar Barua meets a cultural need. Assam was known as Prāg-jyotisha in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and in classical sanskrit literature both as Prāj-jyotisha and Kāmarupa. Early inscriptions refer to it as such. Its old capital Prāg-jyotisha was near modern Gauhati in Assam and came to be so called from the thirteenth century. This eastern portion of the Brahmaputra valley came under the domination of a section of the great Tai or Shan race, whose rulers, the Ahom, assimilated the culture, language and religion of the original inhabitants and completely lost their identity in course of time. Assamese is a full fledged modern Indo-Āryan language both in respect of grammatical structure and a large percentage of vocables and it is derived from old Devanagari alphabet. The history of Assam from the early folk-songs and nursery rhymes to the pre-Vaishnava and the Vaishnava period is well given and the account continues under Ahom patronage till 1834, i.e. the post Vaishnavite period. The modern period commences with 1826 by which time the struggle between the Vaishnavite and Śakta forms of Hindu worship was reaching hot. The Bengali language had taken place of the original Assamese. The American Baptist Mission however reintroduced the Assamese and the new renaissance brought about a revolution in Assam. The results are given in the last part of the work. The anthology is interesting and we congratulate the P.E.N. All-India Centre and Srimati Sophia Wadia on the new series which they have introduced.

S.S.

Preparation for Citizenship—By Sophia Wadia. Published by the International Book House, Ltd. Bombay. Price Re. 1-0-0.

SRIMATI Sophia Wadia delivered three extension lectures under the auspices of the Mysore University on Democracy, Duty of the Citizen to the State and Duty of the State to the Citizen in 1937. They are collected together and published by the International Book House in 1941 and appropriately dedicated to the youth of the Motherland in the fervent hope that they will use the opportunity which the cycle of our national evolution is opening for them. The subject has exercised the minds of all thinking people all over the world at the present time. The true basis of democracy is a spiritual principle and her clarion call to the state and to the citizen to contribute co-operatively to bring the self-rule, in which diversities of gifts and graces of the spirit but enrich one another as well as the whole of the humanity, is timely. These lectures after they were delivered in 1937 were printed from the stenographic reports in the Aryan Path and during these five years European conditions, may we say the world conditions, have deteriorated and we in India as elsewhere have to learn from the tragic experience which we have been undergoing.

Differences in economic status, in moral character and mental capacity resulted in the wrong notion of the very foundation and basis of democracy and the temple of democracy erected on this falsely conceived road of passion, greed and competition. For democracy to succeed it must be built on a spiritualistic and not a materialistic platform. Democracy in the final analysis is the rule of the people and that is bound to fail in practical working unless the spiritual basis of humanity is preserved in a proper perspective. Western democracy proceeds on the basis that man is a social animal but democracy if it is Svaraj, is the rule of the self, i.e. rule of the animal self should be the rule of self as in the *Kāmūtman* and *Antarūtman* for as Sri Kṛṣṇa has said "I am the Ātman, the Ego seated in the hearts of all beings." Man is God, an unfolding God, a God in the making, but in the essence and substance already divine. Here is a basis of real universal brotherhood. Spiritual democracy aims not at destroying things but at using them as of equal value to the individual as well as to humanity as a

whole. Education is the training of the soul for Svaraj through citizenship. The modern tendencies to judge a man's success by his capacity to elbow others out and to push himself to the front are dangerous to the state and debasing to the individual. The human self has to educate itself for the uplift and service of the whole. The state is the school for the adult. Self-education depends entirely on self-discipline. Without discipline no state can exist. Knowledge must bring in virtue the feeling of altruism of enlightened generosity. The low, the evil and the ignoble must shed to the high, good and noble developments. True nobility, righteously must be exalted in building his home of the self, which is beyond and superior to the light of the moon and the sun and the stars. The evil doer must be educated to get over his evil and the evil whenever found should not go unchecked. Justice and sacrifice should go together. We must learn to sacrifice intelligently, to ideate correctly, to build after the heavenly pattern. We must break the bondage of our minds corrupted by the glamour of a sensuous civilization and learn to live by the light of the spirit. Let us awake to our responsibilities, and serve our mother India so that she may bless the world.

S. S.

The Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure—(Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 6) By Panchapagesa Sastri, Vyākaraṇa Śāhitya and Vēdānta Sirōmaṇi, M.O.L; of the Sanskrit Department of the Annamalai University.

THE work under review was originally submitted as thesis (approved) for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning of the Madras University by the author and is now published in the Annamalai University Sanskrit Series. The author of this thesis is, Brahmasri P. Panchapagesa Sastri, Vyākaraṇa Śāhitya and Vēdānta Sirōmaṇi. As one devoted to the study and teaching of Śāhitya and Vēdānta in a University, he is one of the most competent and best fitted men to write on a difficult and interesting subject like the Aesthetic Pleasure.

The literary criticism or the Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure has been a subject which has attracted the attention of many

scholars in and outside India. India has certainly excelled in this field as she has in the domain of Philosophy. The history of literary criticism in India dates far back to the Vedic period. In the Vedic period, the literary criticism and literary specimens seem to have developed concurrently. There are a number of hymns in the *R̄gveda* which point out the importance of the appreciation of Poetry. In one of the hymns it is said that "the poetry reveals herself only to him who understands her." The Vedic bards no doubt, appreciated the critics. They themselves were critics. When we turn our attention to the non-Vedic poetry, we find Vālmiki, the first genuine poet (*Ādi Kavi*) as the father of Indian literary criticism. From his *Sōka-Ślōka* equation, we understand that pleasurable instinct in the poet is the fundamental principle underlying any of his works and as for the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is the latent principle of pathos, that developed into *karma*. That creative artist and critic Vālmiki made it clear that *Rasa* or the emotion is the fundamental principle and is the soul of poetry. Later, Bharata proceeded on the theoretical side of the subject and became its originator. He expounded the *Rasapaddhati* of literary criticism. Even according to him, *Rasa* is the underlying principle in a poem, which makes it so enchanting. The theory of *Rasapaddhati* as propounded by him is brief. He says that poetry has an emotional appeal to us. It makes the reader's mind free from distractions and calls forth the dormant pleasure instincts in him while poetry is studied. Such instincts are roused resulting in joy. This joy is called the realisation of *Rasa* (*Rasāsvāda*) which is of transcendental nature. Thus we see both Vālmiki and Bharata become the propounders of the *Rasapaddhati*. In addition to this, there have been other methods which explain the power of literature in sanskrit. They are (1) *Ancityapaddhati* (2) *Alankūrapaddhati* (3) *Guṇapaddhati* (4) *Ritipaddhati* (5) *Dhvaniapaddhati* (6) *Vakrōkti* and (7) *Anumānapaddhati*. The literary critics who appeared after Bharata tried to give their theories—Bhamaha with *Alankāra*, Dandin with *Guṇa*, and Yamana with *Riti*. All these deal more or less with the outward form of poetry, though they recognise sometimes the emotional element in poetry. The *Rasapaddhati*, for some

time, seems to have been brushed aside. Ānandavardhana, the spokesman of the method of suggestion and the Adaptationistic method brought the theory of *Rasapaddhati* into full view again. Later, the authors of literary criticism except Kuntaka and Mahimabhatta, who propounded the *Vakrōkti* and *Anumāna* schools followed the method of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

The theory of Rasa was explained by Bharata for the first time in a brief and vague sūtra "Vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicāri vamyōgadrasanāśpattih." All the writers on literary criticism have agreed that this sūtra of Bharata defines the scope and the nature of the *Rasāsvāda*. But it is really significant that there have been four distinct schools which seek to explain the Rasa theory based on the Bharata's Rasa sūtra. They are:

- (i) The Generation Theory of Aesthetic Pleasure of *Bhāṭṭa lollata*;
- (ii) The Influence Theory of *Śrī Śāṅkuka*;
- (iii) The Enjoyment Theory of *Bhāṭṭanāyaka*; and
- (iv) The Revelation Theory of *Abhinavagupta*

According to the first two theories the permanent mental conditions (*Sthāyi�hāvās*) in the original character develop into Rasa. *Bhāṭṭa lollata* who is the first psychologist of aesthetics is of opinion that "superimposition" is the cause of pleasure. Śāṅkuka criticises this view and says that the spectator's knowledge of the emotion of the original characters is impossible. According to him Rasa is *inferred*. The third school is that of *Bhāṭṭanāyaka*, who criticises both *Bhāṭṭa lollata* and Śāṅkuka. According to his theory the emotion and the mental conditions are presented to the spectator in an idealised impersonal way of *Bhāvakāra* in poetry and thereafter *Bhāgakṛtva*. His explanation is based on the view of the *Akhyātavādins*. Last is the most important theory—the Revelation theory of aesthetic pleasure contributed by famous *Abhinavagupta*. He holds the view that all human minds especially of trained critics of poetry possess certain latent impressions (*Sthāyi�hāvās*). By the operation of the *Vibhāvās* and *Anubhāvās*, the *Sthāyi�hāvās* of the reader or the spectator is consummated into a reliable emotional kind of Rasa and the spectator enjoys it. According to Abhinavagupta, it is in these

latent instincts of the human mind the aesthetic pleasure takes its origin. Though all men have these latent instincts in them, it is only a *Sahṛdaya*, or a critic whose poetic heart is attuned to the work of art, that can enjoy the situation described in a poem or in a dramatic piece. According to him the *Sahṛdaya* realises his native *bhāvās* evoked in the abstract and thus realises the stage of emotion which is always pleasurable. The realisation of aesthetic pleasure is a mental perception according to this theory. The contribution of *Abhinavagupta* lies in the fact that it is he who for the first time established that the aesthetic pleasure of man is a phenomenon going on within him and resulting out of elements present in himself. The other contribution he has made to the literature of literary criticism is his fastening *suggestion* and demonstrating it as the most potent means of appeal used by the poet, only by which the pleasure of poetry could be enjoyed.

These and a good number of other interesting things such as, modern's exposition of *Rasūsvāda*, their interpretation of the *Rasasūtris*, the explanation of the tragic pleasure and the number of Rasas have been dwelt in these pages in a clear and masterly way. This certainly does great credit to the erudition of Mr. Sastriar. He has brought out very clearly what Bharata has intended to convey in his chapters on *Rasas* and *Bhāvās*. He has explained the *Abhinavagupta*'s correct and convincing interpretation of Bharata in a detailed manner. However, we must say that he has drawn more than what is necessary from *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Locana*.

In writing this book the author has had the unique privilege of receiving guidance at the hands of Professor Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. In fact, the author was inspired by the lectures of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri on "The Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit" delivered by him some years ago in the Annamalai University and made a special study of *Rasūsvāda*. The present work stands as a proof of his scholarship and analytical power. He has compared and collected a number of passages, taken a good deal of trouble in the elimination and selection of the interpretations and finally indicated the sequence in which the various views on

Rasāsvāda have been presented by various authors in sanskrit. The book deserves to be studied by all students of comparative literary criticism.

M. P. L. S.

The Samanya Vedānta Upaniṣads—English Translation by T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar. The Adyar Library, Madras. 1941.

THE Adyar Library which is rendering invaluable service by the publication of rare and valuable books undertook the publication of the original texts of all the 108 Upaniṣads and after its completion, has begun to give an English translation of these closely following the commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogi, the only commentator, though modern, so far believed to have commented upon all the 108 Upaniṣads. The commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogi on the major Upaniṣads, which have been commented upon by the Acaryas and other scholars, does not differ from that of Sri Śaṅkara but makes the subject more clear to many readers. Therefore where Sri Śaṅkara has not commented upon the minor Upaniṣads, the Commentary of Śri Upaniṣad Brahma Yogi would be of great value, as he follows Sri Śaṅkara as regards the major Upaniṣads.

The English translation of the Samanya Vedānta Upaniṣads comprises the following twenty-four minor Upaniṣads. Akṣi, Adyātma, Aṇupatīrpa, Ātma, Ātmabodha, Ekākṣara, Kausitaki brāhmaṇa, Garbhā, Niralambā, Paṅgaṇa, Pranagnihōtra, Mātrika, Maha, Muktika, Mudgala, Maitrayāṇi, Vajrassucika, Sāetraka, Śukharahasya, Sarva-sāra, Sāvitry, Subala, Surya and Skanda Upaniṣads.

Mr. T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar deserves to be congratulated for the clear, free and easy translation he has made, with brief preparatory note of each Upaniṣad. To the seeker of Truth this work will be a valuable guide to the sacred texts. The printing and get up of the book leave nothing to be desired.

R. B. P.

Education—By Svami Vivekananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. As. 8.

THIS compilation from the speeches and writings of Svami Vivekananda by Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam shows how Svami Vivekananda

always emphasised the need of a right type of education for the upliftment of the masses for the solution of our outstanding problems. Swami Vivekananda traced our downfall to the neglect of our own brethren, who were ground down by poverty, suffering and illiteracy.

The education of the masses with a spiritual ideal for its ~~base~~^{ideal},—ground and by concentration and by acquisition of right knowledge imbedded within the man himself, would lead to the regeneration of the masses.

R. B. P.

Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in Rigveda and Atharvaveda—

By Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve—Reprint from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 4.

THIS is a companion volume to the Marathi Kinship Terminology. In her attempt to investigate the Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in Ancient and Modern India, the author ascertains the family institutions of the Vedic people and finds out how far they have been preserved in Modern India. The first part deals with the Kinship Terminology and the second with the Kinship Usages in Rgveda and Atharva Veda.

The first part gives us an idea of the Vedic family and marriage institution. The usages of various kinship terms are discussed in their extensive aspect and each term is compared in the light of both the Vedas. Verses from the Vedas are quoted and explained. While in this investigation one gathers interesting facts surrounding the Vedic people. The author being a Marathi scholar is able to compare the Vedic term with the Marathi term. For example the term *Tanya* derived from *Tan* meaning in Sanskrit son, has a relative expression in Marathi, *Talne* and *Talnu* which refer to child. Some of the social conditions are brought to light such as Bride-show and other manners and customs.

In the second part we find how the two Vedas present us with a growing social process and not a static picture of rigid, well established customs. The Vedic people under the stress of impact with other cultures and civilisations began to change their social institutions.

R. B. P.

Jaganmohan Palace Chitrasala, Mysore, Gallery of Historical Portraits.

Catalogue : With short sketches of the Indians and Europeans in the Portraits—Second and revised edition. Copies can be had from the Officer in Charge, Jaganmohan Palace, Chitrasala, Mysore.

This revised and second edition of the Catalogue of historical paintings in the Jaganmohan Palace with short historical sketches of the Indians and Europeans in the portraits printed by the Bangalore Press and edited by Rājachāritavishārada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao is a very useful, handy and informative guide. Mr. Hayavadana Rao has spared no pains in making it as complete, accurate and full as possible.

S. S.

Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the years 1938, 1939 and 1940—Copies can be had from the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.

We congratulate the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore on the publication of the Annual Reports for the years 1938, 1939 and 1940 in quick succession and in achieving the main object which he had set out many years ago, viz. to bring the reports up-to-date. These volumes record work requiring patient industry, diligent research and careful thinking. In the wilderness of Mysore monuments it is always difficult to select and sift for renovation, preservation and conservation, much more troublesome is identification and reading of coins and inscriptions.

It is interesting to hear in M. A. R. 1938 that a discovery has been made of images which may be connected with the early Cōla and Hoysala schools of architecture and that the remarkable statue of Gomata at Śravanabelgola is examined with a view to taking measures to prevent it from further decay. From a careful study of the Śravanabelgola image points of conservation have been noted and this requires immediate attention. At page 46 Santanambuja or the Progeny Lotus of the Mysore Royal Family is mentioned. That undoubtedly is a record of very great importance and we would be very much obliged if Dr. Krishna could help us to follow the material on which this remarkable and highly accurate work has been based. Of course, here and there

notes are added with reference to the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family. We wish to make a suggestion at the outset, viz. that considerable importance must necessarily be placed on place names as suggested by Mr. Hayavadana Rao more than twenty years ago in a paper contributed to this journal. It does not look as if when places are visited like e.g. Huliyurdurga, why it should be called so has been investigated. It is interesting to notice amongst the portrait paintings in the Jagannmohan Palace the pictures of Dost Mohammad Khan, Ranajit Singh, Viraraj Urs of Coorg and the Jumbusavari procession of Krishnarāja Wadiyar III. Further, under manuscripts is referred a transcript of Sachchudra-chara-Nirṇaya containing fourteen chapters with a prefatory extract from the twelfth chapter of Śivamahatmya-khānda. The colophon tells us that the author was Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar, the Mysore ruler from 1673-1704 A.D. The work is of great importance as tending to determine the caste by birth and suggesting methods for inter-relationship by matrimony and otherwise. It helps us also to confirm the conquests of Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar of Chedamangala, Malai, Paramati, Salem, Kongu, Dharmapura, Malavalli, Dharampuri, Kengari etc. A copper plate grant of Hoskote belonging to the twelfth year of the Ganga King Konganyadhirāja Avanita supports the suggestion of the late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar that Durvinita son of Avanita was a contemporary of the Pallava King Simhavishnu and that Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana and Bharavi were also contemporaries. When did Madhvachar get possession of this, from whom and what is the history concerning the find? These should be interesting indeed and must always be secured whenever we come across copper-plate grants though apparently there is nothing to suggest that this grant is not genuine. If Simhavishnu's mother was related to the Ganga Family, how the relationship came about is not clear. All that is said is that Avanita made a grant to the temple constructed by the mother of the Pallava King Simhavishnu. How that brings about the relationship between the two families it is not possible to say. A number of interesting records belonging to the Parakalaswami Mutt is mentioned. One of them granted by Tippu Sultan directs that a copy of the *nirṇaya* should

be preserved in the registers of the Shanubogh and the original *śrīpā* itself to be preserved in the Mutt of the Parakalaswami indicating great care taken for purposes of authentication and identity. Inscription 67 plate XXXV at pages 188-89 line 3 *vāriada Vibhava sainvasarada*, line 13 *yerayengeśvarada sthūlika*, line 8 *maduvina*, lines 9 and 10 *hattar iddahke sumukkē*, all these suggest whether the inscription may not be much later.

The image of Neminātha, in the Santinātha Basti, Kambadahalli, in the Report for 1939 is very interesting and impressive. The workmanship of the frescoes is excellent and no praise could be too lavish for the sculptor, vide plates, I, VIII, IX, X, XI and XII. At pages 17-18 references to the image of Gomata are made. One should like to have an explanation of the defect in workmanship of this otherwise beautiful image about the knee. Channarayapatna was known as Kolaturu till about 1500 A.D. and Kolaturu became Channarayapatna after a Vijayanagara officer named Chennigaraya. It contains a temple called Gadde-Ramēśvara temple a mile to the south-east of the town. It received certain additions in later times apparently in the seventeenth century. The carving shows a Gaṇḍabherunda bird holding elephants in its beaks. In the front yard of the temple there is a mantap of granite with a brick tower under which on a pillar of soapstone is a Basava with a head to the East and another to the west. I have not heard of a double-headed Basava and even the detailed article on the evolution of the Gaṇḍabherunda does not refer to this double-headed bull anywhere but this coming in the thirteenth century is interesting. In dealing with numismatics Dr. Krishna says at page 98 that the Rājatarangini states that King Harṣa of Kashmir imitated the Karnāṭaka type of coins. Rapson compares the elephant on these coins with the elephant on Ganga coins. In the eleventh century Nanyadeva is said to have established a Karnāṭaka dynasty in Nepal. Dr. Shama Sastri suggests that there was a Karnāṭaka dynasty in Nepal by about the eighth century and it is said that in the first half of the twelfth century the Karnāṭaka line was established in the North-Eastern part of India under Nanyadeva. Harisimha of this dynasty invaded Nepal in

1324 and established himself near Khatmandu. Then again by about 1380 Jayasthimalla represented the Karnāṭaka dynasty and thus began gradually the decline of the power of the Karnāṭaka kings in Nepal. In the village Hirimadhure in the Challakere Taluk are some viragals in old Kannada characters. The identity of the place referred to, if it is a place, Bage-ur, the date of the record are all in doubt. With reference to the viragals of the Ganga king Śripuruṣa and others the suggestions of Mons. Dubreuil and others remains to be verified. Dr. Krishna has taken considerable trouble in elucidating these stones and his conclusions are very suggestive. No. 36 in Kogodu, Archalli Hobli, Belur Taluk is a viragal recording the death of a warrior in the defence of the honour of the women of the village by about 1034 A.D.

The report for 1940 may well be called the volume for Nanjangud Śrikantēśvara Temple. The temple is one of the most important in the State and century after century, dynasty after dynasty has added by its devotion and prayerful attitude to it, e.g. see the devotional attitude of a royal couple, plate IV No. 3, centuries ago, still unmatched and unrivalled to this day, yet true and natural. I should think that the earliest traces of the temple go so far back as at least the ninth or the tenth century. There are however, pillars in the Navaranga which must have been of Hoysala workmanship. The Vijayanagara rulers and the Mysore kings bestowed considerable attention and added to its importance from the time of Harihara I. It is difficult to find how Nanjangud No. 280 referred to in E. C. Mysore supplement is not traceable now. We wish attempts will be made to get at it. This temple attracted the notice of Tippu (Haider?) who was responsible for the Pachche or Padā linga on the left of the Parvati shrine in greenish jade. Krishnarāja Wadiyar III of revered memory undoubtedly devoted his resources to the improvement of this temple. At page 31 (plate XIII No. 2) Śivalinga image No. 8 is Kālasanīhāramurthi with Markandeya defended by Śiva who spears Yama for having put a halter on his devotee. Whence is the idea borrowed? The beautiful sculpture of the goddess in Tiruvannamalai where the rope is Nāgapasa gives rise to certain further considerations. Firstly is it Markandeya who is seeking

protection, secondly is it Yama that is being slain or is it a yama-duta? Thirdly is it Śiva or Śakti who is responsible for the killing which results in the protection of Markandeya? The image is very suggestive, it has got many of the attributes of a female deity though it is difficult to say it is so. In Tiruvunnamalai in the shrine of Unnamale or Parvati which I believe was originally the shrine of Arunachalesvara, the Parvati shrine being the original and the main, which however is by the way, there is a beautiful sculpture to your right as you proceed from the Gopurum gate to the Sukhanāsi. There Markandeya embraces the linga, Yama comes on his buffalo with a Nagapasa which is about to pull Markandeya and the linga itself and attract the victim to his ultimate destruction. In the meanwhile Śakti the great goddess, evidently Parvati springs up from the linga from the panivetta and with her right foot tramples upon the hood of the Sarpa which has coiled round Markandeya. The carving is beautiful, the imagery is splendid and very suggestive. This is not the place to go into it in detail or I should have discussed several other images in the yogic posture in the Kalyāna Mantap of the Arunachalesvara temple there and sought to justify the view that Vidyaranya was the real maker of the Vijayanagara Empire. That Vidyaranya was perhaps Mādhava, probably identifiable with Kriyāśakti, that the temple of Arunachalesvara was really the temple of Śakti, Unnamale (Parvati) required to work hand in hand with Arunachalesvara himself, which if tradition is to be accepted assumed the form of the linga or the famous hill. That is why the pradakṣina to the hill is made on bare feet. The hill is sanctified on account of the *tejas*. Disciples go round to the bottom or the centre and get a touch of the hill. Geologically speaking, the hill may be an extinct volcano but the devotionally inclined see the hand of God in all these.

Dr. Krishna says that a sculpture of a Hindu warrior in relief in the Bangalore fort may be that of Kempe Gowda of Magadi since he suggests the act of attacking the tiger with his sword and a short-spear but we have to remember that the story of Sala and the tiger has been well-known even in the Bangalore parts for centuries prior to this and an old tradition derived Bangalore from Ballala II till an inscription at Begur showed that Bangalore was

known as early as 800 A.D. as a place of some importance. The tomb of Shāji, the father of the great Sivaji, six miles to Hodigeri requires attention. Speaking of the excavations at Chandravalli nothing more need be added to what has already been said in my article on Chitaldrug in QJMS Vol. XXXI Nos. 3 & 4 pp. 338-356. It is very much to be desired that before long Isila and Maski, Chandravalli and Pytan, well-known as great twins before the wondering world would establish all that is claimed for them. From such an examination as I was able to make I must admit that they are in the beginning of our work both at Chandravalli and at Brahmagiri and a great deal more remains to be done before we can ever determine where more detailed excavations ought to commence. Perhaps, a separate officer with considerable facilities and assistance would have to be posted for this duty and I should like to think of the time when these discoveries on the Northern outskirts of Mysore will provide that pre-historic data competing most favourably with those discovered at Taxila, Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and elsewhere in Northern India.

S. S.

The Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India : 1936-37—

Edited by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India. Price Rs. 19-10 or 30 s.

THE reconditioning of the Dome of the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur and the effecting of repairs which had been delayed in previous years owing to retrenchment are welcome news. Special attention has been given to the contributions relating to the antiquities of Burma which will henceforth not figure in this report owing to the separation of Burma from the Indian Empire. Very little of exploration of the Indus civilization was done, but work at Taxila, Nalanda and Rajgir was continued;—Bhir mound and Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila; two monasteries, a Chaitya site in Nalanda; and Maniyar Matha, Jain shrine and Mahadeva temple on the Vaibhāra hill; Shell inscription area near Banganga and Gridhrakūta in Rajgir. The discovery from the furnace of metal slags, fragmentary fireclay crucibles, clay moulds, ribs or ridges of furnace made up of clay with the admixture of husk, twigs and sand and crucible lids stuck with slag of molten

metals shows that the monks and students of the Nalanda University were familiar with the process of casting metal for their images, etc. The numerous variety and abundance of pottery shows how popular this ware was at Nalanda. An interesting feature of these pots is that, irrespective of their size, each of them was provided with a neat hole or a small spout for pouring out water. In some cases the body of these pots was incised with various designs and dusted with mica to give them a brilliant lustre. Jugs are provided with a long, narrow spout and a handle for holding them firmly. These vessels were usually painted red or in other suitable colours. Buddha is said to have meditated sitting on the top of the Gridhrakūta hill, familiarly known as the vulture's peak. He is also said to have delivered certain important discourses at the caves which are situated at the summit of this hill. Here again king Bimbisara is known to have met Buddha. Two ancient brick stūpas have been cleared of their debris. A few inscribed clay sealings, a red stone image of Buddha etc. have been gathered. Traces of several shrines and a stone paved foot-path running towards the East were discovered on the east and south sides of the caves.

The discovery of the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar of a colossal monument at Nandangarh of the type of the Paharpur temple in North Bengal is noteworthy. The building is polygonal and star shaped in plan. It is said to be earlier than the Paharpur temple by about six or seven centuries, though they are similar in plan. The most interesting discovery was the terracotta mould of a coin or token, with a Brāhmī inscription which is deciphered by the help of a square lead piece and the characters are of the first century B.C. Two other coins belonging to the Kusān period were discovered. These show the antiquity of the monument. The exploration of sites in Assam have yielded good results—a large number of ruins of mediaeval temples are noticed. The extreme south has many prehistoric sites worthy of exploration. At Nāgārjunakonda a Roman coin has been discovered and it belongs to the Roman Emperor Hadrianus Augustus P.P. The chief of the sites noticed in this report are : discoveries of pottery and terracottas etc. in (1) Annupanandi two miles S. E. of Madura Dt. (2) Vadagarai

in Periyakulam, fifty-four miles from Madura and (3) in Malabar a small rock cut cave with a small door a stone seat, some pedestals, broken pillars and earthenwares were discovered. As remarked by the editor in his introduction the discussions of Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Chariu, on the antiquity of Kogkai and some prehistoric sites in the Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts are very interesting. The ascription of great antiquity for Kogkai finds geological and stratigraphical corroboration and the rough date for the civilization whose remains might be reasonably expected to be explored, is stated to be about 2,500 years back from now. Dr. Caldwell's pioneer investigations in this direction are given due praise and significance. The author's derivation of the meaning 'emporium' for Kolkhoi in preference to that of Dr. Caldwell which equates it with 'the hand or arm of slaughter' is really good. The necessity of a proper excavation of the sites, which must naturally include the three villages Akkālai, Māramangalam, and Kogkai, is rightly emphasised by the author. In passing it may be noted that the deciphering in part of the Paradēśipudai Brāhma inscription is praiseworthy, though the correctness of the deciphered portion is yet to be confirmed and the connection of the word 'Eli' or 'Eliya' with the chiefs or members of the Māēikavamsa of Mr. D'Eli is highly improbable. The review of Epigraphy—the collection and decipherment of epigraphs—by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty is complete. Among the publications in the *Epigraphia Indica* for the year, the edition of the Leiden Plates by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanyā Aiyer and the note on the Sailēndra kings by Prof. R. C. Majumdar are given due importance.

Among the miscellaneous notes the identification of the Andhakāśuramūrti is interesting and the notice of a six-armed image of Ganēśa carrying a sword, in the Trikūṭēśvara temple in the Dharwar district is new. As the author points the six-armed Ganēśa sculpture form Gol in the Rajshāhi district of Bengal has no sword in its hand. The 'Discovery of a Ganēśa type so rare as the one found at Trikūṭēśvara temple at Gadag derives additional interest from the facts that its equivalents occur in the ancient paintings of such distant lands as Nepal and Japan'.

The fact that a set of copper-plates was discovered at Sonepur, found deposited in a massive stone chest which appears to have been specially made for their safe keep, buried in a plot of land opposite to the Kambhēśwari temple at the place, is very interesting as it reveals to us one of the best methods of preserving State documents or documents of importance in safety and preventing them from ruin. One is reminded of the discovery of the massive set of Tiruvālangādu copper plates discovered in an underground chamber of the temple at Tiruvalangādu.

Re-orientation of the work of the Department seems to be an imminent necessity. Finally, we will join with the hope of the editor that better days are in store for the Department.

K. S. V.

Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 58. By Dr. B. C. Law. Rs. 2-12-0.

A detailed study of the historical cities of ancient India is an asset and attempts made in that direction are always welcome. The reputed scholar Dr. B. C. Law who has been devoting his life for the cause of all that is noble and ancient in Indian Culture has been responsible for excellent monographs of renowned cities of Ancient India. *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* is another of his beautiful presentations dealing with the ancient town, Rājagṛha, the capital of Magada, based on all literary sources. In the history of Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism this city has played a very great part in spreading their own culture and learning.

One gets an insight into the different names of this city, their origin and significance, a clear description and a beautiful architecture. We get also a survey into the antiquity and history. We have no hesitation in recommending this interesting memoir to all interested in the study of the ancient literatures of India.

R. B. P.

Karnāṭaka Inscriptions. Volume I—Edited by R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A. Director of Kannada Research, Bombay Province, Dharwar. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

KARNĀṬAKA inscriptions, Volume I, is edited by Mr. Panchamukhi, Director of Kannada Research in the Bombay Province.

Nine dynasties have been included in the list and five plates have been considered. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government of Bombay should have inaugurated the work of research in Karnāṭaka history and Kannada literature and entrust this task to Mr. Panchamukhi. The inscriptions give an indication of the cultural achievement of the Karnāṭaka in a thousand years or more. Sixty-nine inscriptions dealt with give the important details of political, topical, social and religious history of the Bombay-Karnāṭaka and furnish a mine of data for the reconstruction of the dialectical peculiarities of the ancient Kannada language and the chronology of the Kannada alphabet during a period of nine hundred years. *Adhistana* appears to have been used in the sense of a capital town, *nagara* as metropolitan city and *vāsaka* or *avāsaka* as a place of temporary residence, *pura* being a synonym with *Nagara*. Badāmi was an important educational and spiritual centre in the seventh century and the *adhistana* of several thousand Brahmins well versed in the fourteen thousand *vidyas*. Governed by the *Mahājāgas* was the *Mahāchathurvidya samudaya* of the thousand members, a council whose function and powers were very varied and extensive including the right of distribution of spoils or booty of a raid. Apparently this council came to be known later as the *Mahājāgas* of the *Agrahāra* in the medieval period of Karnāṭaka history and in other places these *agrahāras* came to be identified with the trade guilds with their sub-divisions of *Shettiguttas*, *Mummuridandas*, and *Nānūdesis* etc. The village administration was shared by three regularly constituted bodies in their respective spheres of work viz. *Nādu*, *Nakhara* and *Grāma*. The *niśidhis* are stones recording the death of persons by religious vows as amongst the Jains. The earliest inscription referred to is dated 610 A.D.

S. S.

Interpretation of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads of Indian States—

By K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., M.L. University of Allahabad Studies.

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY has brought out under the University of Allahabad series the interpretations of treaties, engagements and sanads of Indian States in a neat handy form and describes the

treaties as comprising of four classes : the first possessing the character of conveyance, the second possessing the character of contracts, the third being law making treaties which are divisible into treaties creating constitutional law and pure law and the fourth being akin to characters of incorporation. The treaty with Mysore in 1881, he seems to consider has the character of conveyance. Looking into the history of the period one would find that it cannot be so treated but as one having the character of a contract the background of which has since been amply recognized was the feeling that there was a basis of agreement and equality at the inception though when the treaty came to be executed it was between parties of equal strength.

S. S.

The Bombay Karnataka : A Geographical Survey—By B. S. Seshagiri,
B.Ag., B.Sc., M.Sc. Lingaraj College, Belgaum. Price Rs. 2.

In the above monograph the author has ably presented the geographical survey of the four Kannada districts, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and South Canara, which form part of the Bombay Presidency.

The Bombay Karnāṭaka is an area extending over 18,874 square miles. It is not physically uniform. The region like many parts of India is eminently agricultural but rich in some of the natural resources not exploited. Agriculture has suffered in certain parts of the region owing to paucity of rainfall and lack of means of irrigation. This coupled with other features has contributed to the economic backwardness of the region. The author in conclusion considers the means of ameliorating this and the creation of a well-planned irrigation system, the exploitation of the natural sources of the country and the development of the Karwar harbour would no doubt go a long way in the economic prosperity of its people.

The monograph is an instructive and intelligent survey of the subject based on statistics. It is fully illustrated and the appendix at the end has enhanced its value. Kannadigas are particularly grateful to the author for his valuable and useful monograph and look forward for the author's geographical survey of the entire Karnāṭaka country.

D. S. A.

Lyrics and Sonnets—By M. Gilbert. Published by the Hosali Press,
6 Ulsoor Road, Bangalore. Price Re. 1-0-0.

We congratulate Mr. Gilbert on the excellent series of verses which are collected in *Lyrics and Sonnets*. The get up is excellent and adds credit to the Hosali Press. The poems are full of promise for the future of the author.

"O what are glory, wealth, magnificence,
If I could get back childhood's innocence"

is one of his Sonnets which go direct to our hearts.

S. S.

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

Mudrārakṣasa of Viśākhadatta | Edited by Prof. R. D. Karamkar,
The Mṛcchakatika of Śūdraka | Principal and Professor of Sanskrit,
Sri Parasurambhau College, Poona. Rs. 3-0-0 and Rs. 3-8-0
respectively.

THE *Mudrārakṣasa* of Viśākhadatta is a unique drama in sanskrit. Unlike the other plays in sanskrit, this deals with diplomacy and politics to the entire exclusion of love, without having a single female character, a fact which might appear almost impossible to believe. The style of the poet is also direct and vigorous keeping with the dignity of the subject-matter that is portrayed. The drama deals with the events that happened during the year immediately after the defeat of the Nandas and the installation of Chandragupta Maurya as Emperor. The interest in the play centres round the theme of winning over of Rākṣasa, a capable minister of the Nandas, who remains faithful to them even after their defeat, by Cānakya, a clear-headed, self-confident, intriguing politician, who is responsible for Chandragupta Maurya's accession to the throne. Rākṣasa, faithful as he is to his masters, tries to take vengeance upon Chandragupta and Cānakya. Cānakya proves more than a match to Rākṣasa, in this connection. Rākṣasa is no doubt a brave soldier, but somewhat a soft-natured politician. These two great men Cānakya and Rākṣasa attract the attention of the readers, and their devotion, loyalty, seriousness of purpose and the method they adopt to win their object thrill us. The soliloquy of Rākṣasa in the sixth act of the drama after Rākṣasa's aim

has been abandoned, out of helplessness speaks volumes of his faithfulness to his masters. We find another pair of rivals in the drama in Chandragupta and Malayakātu. Chandragupta is a man of dignity and character, having regard to his minister, whereas Malayakātu is thoughtless and suspicious. There is no drama in sanskrit which can come up to the level of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, in regard to its plot construction, done with such singular skill, except perhaps the *Mṛcchakatīka*.

There have been a number of editions of this play edited by such eminent scholars as Professor Dhruva, Mr. Kale and Mr. K. T. Telang. The present edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* by Principal R. D. Karamkar contains three parts brought out in two volumes. The first part contains the text and its literal translation printed below the text. The second part is devoted to the exhaustive notes on all important points, and the third is the introductory portion which deals with the authorship and date of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, its sources and a critical appreciation of the drama.

It has five appendices given at the end dealing with the definitions of some dramatic terms, subhastas, notes on metre, explanations of technical words and an alphabetical index of the verses appearing in the play. Except the last, the rest could have been brought under the second part of the book. A critical note in regard to the social and political conditions of the period would have been of great help to the students. The present edition of the drama serves the students' needs to understand the text and appreciate its author.

Principal Karamkar has brought out a students' edition of another famous and interesting drama "Mṛcchakatīka" or the "Earthen Toycart." By virtue of its subject-matter and the method with which it is handled, this play of Śūdraka, is considered to be one of the most enjoyable plays in sanskrit literature. Śūdraka has defied the convention in selecting the subject-matter of the play and giving a title to it. The drama is all attractive, for one finds here a changed atmosphere differing from the stereotyped atmosphere one would generally find in the sanskrit dramas. This, like the other play edited by Mr. Karamkar, contains a translation of

the text; together with an introduction, discussing the authorship and date of the play and other important things connected with the drama. This is a useful addition to the existing stock of editions of sanskrit dramas.

M. P. L. S.

KANNADA

Government, Its System and Structure (ಕರ್ಮ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ)

By H. Krishna Rao, M.A. Mysore University. Sir K. P. Puttanna Setty Paduvattina Prakatanamala No. 3. Price As. 2.

In the book under review the author deals with the importance of and the need for the study of politics, explains the meaning of State and Government, describes the characteristics of good government and considers the several aspects of Democracy and Federalism. The several forms and working of the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary are briefly dealt with. The defects of democracy as paving the way for the rise of dictatorship are clearly set forth. Dictatorship in spite of some of its remarkable achievements in economic and social spheres may not hope to survive for long with its suppression of the individual which is detrimental to the progress of civilisation. Democracy divested of its evils, finds favour with the author as the best form of Government. But democracy has failed to deliver the goods and we believe that the future of the world lies in some form of Socialist State where there is no class distinction, where there is equality of opportunities for the people and where freedom reigns restricted by the interests of Society and State.

The book is written in a clear and simple style and is particularly useful to the students of Civics studying in High Schools.

D. S. A.

ENGLISH—MARATHI

Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages of the Maratha Country—By

Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve. A Re-print from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 6.

A careful and close study of Kinship Terminology of the people speaking one language is an interesting subject and a comparative study

with the language of other people is certainly the more valuable. India with her varied languages furnishes an opportunity to study a type of people in this light. In her brilliant attempt Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve has given us a very lucid and interesting account of Kinship Terminology and usages in the Marathi country in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.

Of the multifarious languages in India, Marathi is one of the richest, possibly the richest language, so far as kinship usages are concerned and a study of this will definitely add to our knowledge. While the English language speaks of 'Cousin' or 'Uncle' for different kinship, male or female, Marathi has individual terms for different relationships, as also in other Indian languages.

The Maratha people occupy a unique position between the Northern Indian cultures dominated by the Vedic ideals and culture, and the Dravidian cultures of South India. The first trace of written Marathi goes so far back as 973 A.D. "Unfortunately this great cultural and linguistic (Marathi) area has been divided in three parts and allotted to different provinces, owing partly to the historical accident of the dates of the conquests by the British of its different parts, and to the blindness to cultural and anthropological facts displayed by the rulers of the British Empire in all those possessions and colonies". This, however, applies also to Telugu and Kannada and Malayalam.

R. B. P.

MARATHI

Vedanta Kavya-Lahari, Parts 1 & 2 By Dattatraya Dharmayya
Laghu Gitartha-Bodha-Lahari Poredi, Vakil, Sholapur.

SRI Dattatraya Dharmayya Poredi is a devotee and disciple of Sri Siddaramesvara Mahārāj, and has attempted to bring out in Marathi the spirit of Vedānta devoid of its complexity. He has drawn attention to the different ways in which the one Truth manifests itself by illustrating it from the sayings of his own guru and from the teachings of great saints of Mahārāstra like Gītānēśvar and Tukarām. He has analysed the thoughts on Castes, Panca-mudra, Ātma and others. The episodes on Visvamitra-Menaka, Namdev-Muktabai make delightful reading.

The teaching of the Gita or the Lord's song is unique and for all time : it has attracted people of all castes and races and climes throughout the globe.

Laghu Gitartha-Bodha-Lahari meaning Brahma Vidya Rahasya is a translation in Marathi Verse, simple in presentation. It is not a mere translation of the Gita, as the author has selected only 233 slokas from the whole work to show that the Gita of the eighteen chapters is not a compartmental division of three different yogas, six for Karma, six for Bhakti and the third six for Gnana but that each chapter presents a synchronised idea of Brahma-Vidya blending in it all the Yogas, as will also appear from the colophon at the end of each chapter of the Gita.

R. B. P.

Siva-Charitra-Vritta-Sangraha, Part II, Persian Section—Edited by Ganesh Hari Khare. Bharata Ithihasa Samshodaka Mandali, Poona. Re. 1-4-0.

WITH extreme care and devotion and with enormous cost and compiling from all possible sources the Life of Sivaji the great empire builder has been brought out.

The book under review forms the fifth in the series and is a companion volume to the third, Part I, the Kannada section. Muhammad-nama Adil Shah, Tarikh-i-Ali, Ali-nama, Haft Kursi and Basatinussalatin embody in fragments the life and anecdotes of Sivaji and of his father Shaji. The student of Indian History will find this and other publications as the first step for his research. The book furnishes a complete index for ready reference.

R. B. P.

PERSIAN—MARATHI

Ithihasika-Parsi-Sahitya. Trutiya Kanda. (Persian Sources of Indian History Part III). By Ganesh Hari Khare. Bharata Ithihasa Samshodak Mandali, Poona. Re. 1-8-0.

A very useful material for the Indian History is available in this book for a fairly long period ranging from August 29, 1583 to June 27, 1708 A. D. The original letters 95 in number, are in Persian, secured by the Mandali for purposes of examination and

edition from the ancient Desai families of Agadi, Gadag, Bisarahalli, Lakshmeesvar and Salasi : the first 33 letters from Sri Aba Saheb and Sri Bhayya Saheb Bahadur Desai of Agadi (Haveri), and the other 56 letters have been taken out from Sri Venkatadri Srinivasa Bahadur Desai of Gadag, the last 6 letters from Sri Guruppayya Bisarahalli Desai, Sri Achuta Rao and Narayana Rao Prabhu Desai, Sankarappa Khan-gouda Desai. The learned Editor, Sri Khare, has brought out the publication of these letters in original together with their translations in Marathi, and with a chronological list for easy reference. The explanations of these letters have been given out in Marathi which serve quite a useful purpose. The importance of each letter is made clear.

In the history of Maharashtra the role of Adil Shah is of great significance and the Adilshahi-Sikke chapter adds further information. There is a well compiled index which is of utmost value.

R. B. P.

TELUGU

History of Kammas (కమ్మాల ఇతిహాసం), Part II—By Kotha Bhavayya Chowdary. Published by the Author, Sangam Jagarlamoodi, Godavari District.

THE book under review, of which the first part we had occasion to introduce to our readers in October 1940 of our Journal relates to the History of Kammas of the Telugu country who were a military community and were also tillers of the soil and big estate holders. They stood in comparison to Velamas and Balijas. The author regards Kammas as Kshatriyas who observed the Brahmanical rituals and rites illustrating it from various inscriptions, books and contemporary publications among others.

The inter-relationship between the Reddys and the Kammas does not necessarily suggest that they were Kshatriyas but it may be under the influence of Buddhism they lost all caste nomenclature and later on the revival of Hinduism came to be classed as Sudras. The Kammas lost their individuality after the fall of the Kalkatiya Sri Venapratapa Rudra in the fourteenth century and became subordinate to the ruling chiefs of the time whom they served loyally as commanders in the army.

The origin of this community is traced to the twelfth century and 1,229 families are discovered, indeed not an easy enterprise. The name however appears to have been known since the Vedic period. They adopted and followed the manners and customs of Brahmins, and added a suffix, *Varma*, to their names but in later times had to give it up as the Brahmins objected. The author says that the Kammas were Kṣatriyas belonging to the Āndhra country, descended from the stock of Cōlas and the Cālukyas, "connected with the family of Karikala Durjaya of Surya-vamsa."

Authors who bring out family Histories of Indian communities deserve commendation as we have said in reviewing the *Velugotivari Vaansavali*.

R. B. P.

TAMIL

Pulavar Ulagam (*புலவர் உலகம்*)—By Jagavira Pandyan. Published by Madras C. Varadarajulu Naidu Press, Madura.

IT is the intention of the author to write the lives of men of Tamil letters. Some years ago he brought out a popular edition of the life of Agattyamunivar, whom tradition regards as the parent of the Tamil language. This book was prescribed for college classes by the Universities of Mysore and Madras, a tangible proof of the excellence and value of the book. As a first instalment he gives the literary estimate of Kainba, the author of the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa.

P. S. L.

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LILĀTILAKAM ON MALAYĀLAM INFLEXIONS

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

THE fourteenth-century treatise, *Lilātilakam*, has, in its second *śilpa*, sixteen *sūtras* dealing with Malayālam inflexions, both nominal and verbal. Though the treatment is neither exhaustive nor even adequate in some respects, there are data which illuminate the past history of Malayālam. Here, as in other sections of the grammatical portion of the work, full recognition is accorded to the individuality of the west coast speech, even while the closeness of its affinities to Tamil is envisaged. It is the language of *manipravāla* literature that is discussed, and therefore a number of purely traditional forms come in for treatment; but the language of conversation and the living linguistic peculiarities of the Malayālam of the fourteenth century are not ignored. In a work dealing with the *manipravāla* type of composition, the influence of Sanskrit is admitted; but, refreshingly enough, in many places, the work rules out blind servility to the rules of Sanskrit syntax.

Silpa II—Sūtras 9 and 10

In these sūtras introducing the subject of Malayālam inflexions, the existence in Malayālam of eight cases, three genders and two numbers is stated.

The classification of the cases into eight types is Dravidian : cf. the rule of Tolkappiyam (the oldest extant grammar of Tamil): *Vili koṇadankas viliyōd-ēppē* "the cases number eight, along with the vocative."

2. So far as the classification of genders and numbers is concerned, the one adopted in Līlātilakam does not correspond to the Tamil division of 'uyartipai' (group constituted of rational beings) and 'abdiṇai' (non-rationals including inanimates), 'uyartipai' itself being subdivided into 'appal' (masculine singular), 'penpal' (feminine singular) and 'palarpal' (rational plural), and 'abdiṇai' having two sub-divisions 'ondanpal' (non-rational singular) and 'palavinpai' (non-rational plural).

This old classification of Tamil is fundamental in Malayālam also, since the personal endings of Old Malayālam verb-forms (so far as these personal endings occur) evidence the distinctions inherent in the old classification.

Līlātilakam itself advertises to a feature of this old classification when it observes in the commentary on sūtra I4 that "the second case ending only optionally appears in forms denoting inanimates and irrationals."

Sūtra 11

This is a fairly comprehensive sūtra dealing with the morphology of Malayālam inflexions and offering some observations on the syntax of cases.

1. The sūtra states the names of the 'vibhaktis' referred to in the previous sūtra and describes them as 'eight' in number:

"pēr, e, ñdu, kku, nindu, ude, vilityaṣṭakam."

The commentary points out that while 'per' and 'viji' in the sūtra are 'ārthau,' the others are 'āśabdāḥ'.

The form and the purpose of the Līlātilakam sūtra may be compared to the Tolkāppiyam Colladigāram rule:

"peyar, ai, odu, ku, in, adu, kaṇ, viṣyennum ita.

The Tolkāppiyam rule has been interpreted by all commentators (except Teyvaccilaiyār) as giving the names of the 'vibhaktis', and there too 'peyar' and 'viji' have been taken as indicating the meanings.

2. "The 'first' case is the 'prātipadika,' and it is called 'per';" says the commentary.

Here one may recall Cēnāvaraiyar's interpretation of the Tolkāppiyam rule: "avattuḷ ejuṭṭu vēṭumai peyar tōndunilaiyō."

3. The Malayālam second case ending e is marked off in the commentary from Tamil ar, and the augments in forms like *maratte*, *marattine*, *inayē* etc. are pointed out as corresponding to Tamil 'cariyai'.

(a) Very interesting syntactical observations follow. "The force of the second case ending of Malayālam is to make the object 'mīrvarttya', 'vikāryā', 'prāpya', and not to denote 'space' and 'duration of time'; nor are second case forms dependent upon 'upapadas'."

Conceivable Malayālam usages like *divasatte niñdān* (where duration of time is denoted by the second case form), and *nītratte kuruñjeyum nañuvē cilli* "the eyebrow between the eyes and the curlis" (where the second case forms *nītratte* and *kuruñje* are made dependent upon *nañuvē*, in imitation of Sanskrit usages like those where the indeclinable *antarā* governs second case forms) are disapproved.

Similarly, the commentary points out the unsuitability in

Malayālam of a construction like *grāmatte āvasikkundōn* where (in imitation of Sanskrit) the verb *āvasikkundōn* governs a second case form.

(b) The terms¹ 'nirvarttya', 'vikārya' and 'prāpya' associated with the second case object, are used by Sanskrit treatises and adapted in Tamil by some of the Tamil commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*. Both Cēñavaraiyar and Naccinārkiniyar use more or less the same language: "iyattappaḍuvadum, vēgupāḍuk-kappaḍuvadum, eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappāḍuporu] mūndān."

The seventeenth century *Prayōgavivēka* points out the resemblance in the following terms:

"ini vākkiyapadiyattullum, kaiyaḍattullum, nirvarttiyam, vikāriyam, pīrappiyam enakkūgiyavansam Cēñavaraiyar mudalā-yinōr iyattappaḍuvadum vēgupāḍuk-kappaḍuvadum eydappaḍuvadum enacceyyappāḍuporu]ai mūndākkuvār . . . Nannūlārum Ākkal, ajidal, aidaidāl cainendrān madam patti psalavākkuvār."

4. The third case endings of Malayālam are *ōdu* (the only one mentioned in the sūtra but referred to in the commentary as 'upalakṣapa'), and *āl* and the postposition *kondū* (the two latter mentioned by the commentary).

(a) The observation of the commentary that in third case forms like *avay-e-k-kondū*, the *e* is not a second case ending but only 'sandhāyaka' has to be understood as implying that in third case forms like these, the third case meaning alone is important and that the element *e* preceding *kondū* need not be isolated as being originally the second case ending.

(b) While *ōdu* and *āl* are equally important as third case endings in Malayālam, why is *ōdu* alone mentioned in the sūtra and then

1. The Kannada Grammar *Śabdamaṇḍarpana* uses these terms in the sūtra treating about the force of the second case ending. It also refers to 'kāla' and 'adhvā' in Kannada as being expressed in the second case.

described in the commentary as an 'upalakṣapa'? I suspect that the model of the *Tolkāppiyam Colladigaram* sūtra which mentions only *oñu* as the third case ending for Tamil though *oñu* and *āñ* were both current, might have influenced the author of *Lilātilakam* who (be it observed here) was a keen student of this Old Tamil grammar and some of its earlier commentaries. It is noteworthy that later Tamil grammars like *Viracōjiyam*, *Nēminādām* and *Nappūl* mention both *oñu* (and *ōñu*) and *āñ* (and *āñ*) as equally important in the sūtras themselves.

(c) *ōñu*, with long *ā*, is the common form in Malayālam, though *oñu* appears occasionally in poetry. The thirteenth century *Nēminādām* expressly refers to *ōñu* as a 'development' of *oñu*.

(d) In Old Tamil, both *oñu* and *āñ* appear to have induced the significations of 'agency', 'instrumentality' and 'association'. Some kind of differentiation of functions may have already started in the Old Tamil period. In later periods, the use of the former seems to have become restricted more and more to 'association' (and allied meanings), while the latter (with its variant *āñ*) generally signified 'agency' and 'instrumentality'.

In Malayālam this differentiation of functions became common at a very early stage, though rare poetic instances exist like *vēdiyarāl vēdaingonđ-iñaiññu* [where *āñ* is used with the meaning of 'association'], and *kañalōñu pōyār* [where *ōñu* has the force of *āñ*] cited by Gundert from 'Payyanur pāñju'.

(e) Malayālam appears to have developed the special significance of 'viyōgab' for *ōñu*,—a meaning that is common in Tamil only for the fifth case ending. In old Malayālam texts like *Dūtavākyam*, constructions like *lajjayōñu vēriபட்ட-*, *santōpattōñu-vēgu* and *citanayōñu pirinñi-*, are quite common, though these have ceased to be popular today.

Though the influence of Sanskrit is possible in the popularising of the use of the third case ending in connection with 'vīyogaḥ', it may have had a Dravidian origin.

Just in the same manner as the third case is prescribed by *Tolkāppiyam* for what it calls *opp-al-opp-urai* in instances involving absence of resemblance, as in *ponnōñdirumbanaiyār ninnōñlu piçarē*, so too 'absence of accompaniment' may have been connected with the third case.

5. The fourth case endings of Malayālam are those "in *avakkku*, and *anuu inuu* as in *avānūu*, *adīnūu*."

(a) *anuu* and *inuu* are 'false' isolations of the Malayālam fourth case ending appearing after nouns and pronouns with the 'rational' singular *u* as the final or after nouns embodying the augment *-iu-*. Really, here, after the old *k* had been lost, Malayālam had, to start with, a 'samvrta' *u* which in the course of the history of Malayālam became opened out to *-a-*. The elements *anuu* and *inuu* in what *Lilātilakam* isolates as *anuu* and *inuu* do not really belong to the fourth case ending.

(b) The imitation in Malayālam of the Sanskrit use of fourth case forms as 'objects' of verb-bases like *kup* is disapproved by the commentary. A Malayālam construction like *kāntanuu kōpikkindadu kānta* is pointed out as incongruous for Malayālam.

6. The commentary points out that Malayālam has, for the fifth case, the "endings"-*il-nindu*, *mēl-nindu*, *pakkal-nindu* and *u-nindu*.

(a) The commentary expresses disapproval of Malayālam imitations of the Sanskrit use of fifth case forms as 'objects' of verbs denoting 'learning' and 'fearing,' as in Malayālam constructions like *avāngalnindu payatti* "learnt from him" and *puliyingalnindu pēdiccu* "feared (from) the tiger".

So far as verbs denoting 'fear' are concerned, the oldest Tamil grammar allows for such verb-forms the use of objects both in the second case and in the fifth case. Not only is *anjal* "fearing" mentioned in the sūtras dealing with verb-ideas governing the second and the fifth cases, but the alternative government of the second or fifth case forms is expressly pointed out in a special sūtra in the chapter on the merging of cases.

In Malayālam itself, old texts show instances of constructions like *cakratttingal ninnu bhayappett-* where the verb denoting 'fear' governs a fifth case object.

(b) So far as verbs denoting 'learning' are concerned, constructions like *avande adukkal pathiccu* and *avande adukkal ninnu pathiccu* are both common today, the former advertiring to the teacher from whom instruction has generally been received and the latter to the person from whom a particular piece of instruction has been derived.

(c) *H-nindu* contains the element *-il* which appears in forms like *komb-il* (ultimately from *komb-in-mēl*). This *il* appears already in tenth century inscriptions: *puraipyidattil* [TAS.]

7. The commentary refers to sixth case endings as "-ude, -ide, -de and -unu."

(a) For the history of the first three, see my EMM.

(b) The mention of *-unu* (which in origin is the Malayālam fourth case ending of words with final *-u* or the augment *-in-*, mentioned above) calls for comment.

The use of the fourth case ending for denoting a sixth case signification when 'uyartīlai' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case forms is already laid down in *Tolkāppiyam*, which ancient work, however, does not say anywhere that *-tu* is a 'sixth case' ending. This use is advertized to in the chapter on '*Vāttumai mayāngiyal*', dealing with the 'merging of cases and case-significations'.

In the commentary on the seventh sūtra of Vēttumaippaṭṭalam of Viracōliyam, Perundēvanar refers to *ku* as having a sixth case meaning, only when it is a 'kāraka': "கீழ் வேட்டுமலை காரகம் எகும் போடு 'கு' என்று பிரதியம் ஒந்த வரும் . . . பின்னு 'கு' என்று நல்லம் வேட்டுமலைப்பிரதியம் வருவிட்டு . . . காரகபாடமாக்கிக்கிரியாபாடத்தோடு குட்டி-ச் சிட்டனுக்கு மகன் அன் 'என முடிக்கா'."

The grammar Nēmināndam does not refer to *ku* as a "sixth case" ending.²

Nāmūl, while referring to the use of the affix *-ku* instead of the sixth case ending, does not regard *-ku* as a sixth case ending.

Nor do the commentators of Tolkāppiyam (except perhaps Ilambūrapar) interpret the colladigāram sūtra in such a way as to suggest that *-ku* is a 'sixth case' ending. Their interpretation is that a sixth case compound like *nambi magan* would if resolved become *nambikku ḍigiyā magan*. This interpretation was due to the feeling that sixth case compounds like *nambikkū magan* were not very common in Tamil but that generally usage sanctioned only constructions like *nambikk-ḍigiyā magan* or *nambikku magan-ḍigiyōn*.

But already from a fairly early period, compounds like *nambikkū magan* and *piṇikku marundu*³ [as in *piṇikku*

2. The seventeenth century Prayōgavivēkam (very much influenced by Sanskrit in its outlook and treatment) includes *ku* in the list of sixth case endings in the sūtra, but observes in the commentary that "'*ku* which has the meaning of a 'yathī prat�aya' confers the force of the sixth case.' In a later context however, it advert to *ku* as the sixth case ending itself.
3. This collocation with a sixth case relationship cannot be justified by the same Tolkāppiyam sūtra that covers instances like *nambikkū magan* where 'uyarinal' nouns are 'qualified' by the sixth case form.

marundu piṅga of Kugal where *piṅkku* relates to *marundu*] with a sixth force relationship were common.

It is not surprising, therefore, that *-ku* came to be regarded by some as a "sixth case" ending itself.

The correspondence of Sanskrit constructions like *rūmasya
pitrōsti* to *irāmanakku-p-pudalvan uṭan* may also have contributed to the feeling that *-ku* in forms like these may be regarded as a 'sixth case' ending.

So far as Malayālam is concerned, Līlātilakam regards it both as a 'fourth case' ending and as a 'sixth case' ending. Bālaprabōdham (written at a later period for Malayāli students of Sanskrit) pointedly refers to *-ku* exclusively as a 'sixth case' ending, the 'fourth case' ending being (in its opinion) only *āykkordu* ("ikkum-innum-ude sasthikku").

Instances like *pārinūn nāthau pāriksittu* also do occur in Malayālam where *pārinūn* is related to *nāthau* and not to the predicate.

(c) Constructions in Malayālam like *kāṅgāikkur pōyi* "went, though (or) while others were observing," in imitation of Sanskrit genitive absolute constructions are condemned by the commentary.

Similarly, imitations in Malayālam like *maraññāñde māru* "the mango-tree among the trees," in imitation of the Sanskrit use of the *gaśti* forms for 'nirdhāraṇa', are also condemned by the commentary.

8. Seventh case endings are "il, iññ, mññ, kal".

(a) Now, the *il-ñ* (as illustrated in *avon-il-ñ suññam*) is actually compounded of the locative ending *-il* and *ñ* which was a terminative expletive in the older stages of the language but which came to have a "qualificatory" value in forms like *kūññile*

(cf. *kūṭīt̄ ī̄ga* "the elephant of the forest"), qualifying the nouns immediately following.

(b) Locative absolute constructions in Malayālam (in imitation of Sanskrit usage) like *udikkinda ādityan̄il purandān̄* "he was born, while the sun was rising" are condemned by the commentary.

9. The eighth case endings are, according to the commentary, "ā, ī, ē and ī, as in *mādhavā*, *nambi*, *cārū*, *ivāñē*, *ivālē*, *maramē*, *vadīyē*."

(a) Among the forms mentioned in the commentary, *mādhava*, *nambi* and *maramē*, *vadīyē* [the last two show the ī-ending used for 'ahdinai' vocatives, according to Tolkāppiyam] follow Old Tamil rules. Uyartīnai forms with lip-rounded u ordinarily remained unchanged in Old Tamil; while vocatives for pronouns like *ivan̄*, *ivai* are expressly prohibited by all Tamil grammars.

(b) The list in the commentary is but a summary one. Instances of other Malayālam vocatives occurring in the citations of the commentary are *nañīē* (Tamil *nañgāy*), *tōlarē*, *ammiē*, *trkkariyūr-āṇgalē*. None of these can be justified by Tolkāppiyam rules. Nor can vocatives like *śrīḡhaumārē* and *dharmajñā-nāyōḍīśē* of the fourteenth century Dūtavākyam be supported by Tolkāppiyam rules.

(c) In the commentary on the fourth sūtra of the fourth śilpa, the vocatives *candrañē* and *varñadrañē* are conservatively condemned, though it must be said that instances like these with the affix ī tacked on to words with final rational singular ending -u are common both in Middle Tamil and in Malayālam even when such forms are not 'mugaippeyar'.

Indeed, while in Old Tamil (according to the rule in the chapter on vocatives in Tolkāppiyam) the vocatives of rational masculine singulars (with -u) took on ī only when they were

'mugappayar' or nouns denoting relationship, the practice appears to have been extended to other rational masculine singulars also in later periods. Viracōliyam (in its commentary on the eighth sūtra of Vēttumaippadalam) instances vocatives like *īrāman-ē* and *mānnan-ē*. Middle Tamil texts like Nācciyārtirumōji have forms like *usurvān-ē*, *tuyitvan-ē*, *kannan-ē*.

The thirteenth century grammar Nēminādām also cites illustrations of vocatives like *ayuṇ-ē*, *civān-ē*, *naṭan-ē*, *paran-ē* for 'uyartinal' nouns with final *u*. The same grammar has *amīnē*, *attē* which also could not be supported by the rules of Tolkāppiyam.

(To be concluded)

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NYĀYA BHĀSKARA OF ANANTĀRYA¹

TRANSLATED BY M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR, M.Sc.

Life of Anantārya. (1823—1863 A. D.)

ANANTĀRYA son of *Mahābhāskṛyaṁ* Singrachar was born at Melkote in the Mysore State in the month of April 1823 A.D. He studied *Nyāya* and *Mimāṃsa* under the great Gūli Bālācarya, later head of the Uttarādi Mutt. His father taught him *Sri Bhāskṛya* and other *Sri* Vaiṣṇava literature. In the early part of his life, he was a teacher in the Jain Sanskrit *Pāṭasālā* at Śravāga Belagoḷa where he had an opportunity to read several Jaina works and write the alankāra granthas, namely (1) Raṭṭamūralīdhara, (2) Kuvalayānanda-Makaranda and (3) Kṛṣṇa Rāja Kalodaya which however have not been printed up till now.

Later on he joined the Parakāla Mutt of Mysore and toured with the Svāmiji in North India. He is reputed to have distinguished himself by defeating his opponents at the court of Venkata Rāya, a petty chieftain, at Dharwar, Bombay Presidency in a disputation on *Bādha* or annulment a portion *Gadhādhara*. Then he accompanied the Svāmiji to Poona where he discussed with Mohana Sastry (or Mohūr Sastrī) the feasibility of widow marriage supporting it from the Hindu scriptural Texts. He also wrote in Sanskrit a book called *Vidhavā-vivāha Khandanam* printed in Telugu characters.

In the *Natva-tatvavibhūṣayam*, he criticised the views of Kunigal Ramasastri in his book called *Navakoti*.

His works are :

- (1) *Natva Tatvavibhūṣayam*.
- (2) *Sathakōti Khandanam*.
- (3) Ācaralochanam, otherwise called *Vidhavā-vivāha Khandanam*.

1. In this work are criticised the views of *Gaṅgā Brahmananda* expressed in *Laghuchandrika*, a commentary on the *Advaita Siddhi* of Madhusūdana Sarasvati.

- (4) *Nyāya Bhāskara*, wherein he criticises the views held by Gaūḍa Brahmānanda in *Laghuchandrika*, a commentary on the *Advaita Siddhi* of Madhusūdhana Sarasvati.
- (5) Śāstrārambhāsamarthanam and nineteen other short treatises on Viśiṭādvaita philosophy. These have been published in two volumes in the Devanāgarī characters by the late Mr. M. T. Narasimha Iyengar [known as Sri Kalki of Malleswaram] under the name of *Vedānta Vādavali*. These books are available.
- (6) Bhēdavāda.
- (7) Tat-kratu Nyāyavicāra.
- (8) Drisyatvānumāna Nirāsa.
- (9) Rasa Muralidhara.
- (10) Kuvalayānanda-Makaranda.
- (11) Kṛṣṇa Rāja Kalodaya.

The author died at the very early age of forty in the year 1863 A.D. He had a number of disciples; but the most remarkable of them was the late Dharmadhikāri Naveenam Rāmānujacarya.

None of his works have been translated into English. My revered father, Mr. M. B. Varadarajengar, had long had an idea of translating them into English. But his health stood in the way and he was also suffering from a cataract of the eye. I began to translate *Nyāya Bhāskara* into English under his able guidance and with parental blessings, but before I could complete the translation, he passed away and I lost his guiding hand. Then with the greatest difficulty I continued the translation of it, revised several chapters and completed chapter one of the work about two years ago. The rest is proceeding.

In translating this book, the following editions have been consulted:—

- (1) The book in Telugu characters printed in Lakshmivilāsa Press of Madras in Sāliyāhana Śakha, 1781, corresponding to 1859 A.D. (*i.e.* printed during the author's life-time).

(2) The book in Telugu characters published by the Vidyātarangini Press of Mysore by the late Dharmādhikāri Chakravarthi Iyengar in the year 1893 A.D.

(3) That in Devanāgarī characters published by Mr. Prathivādi-Bhayamkaram Anantāchārya at the Sudarsana Press of Kāñchi.

CHAPTER I

1. There shines in a portion of Yādavādri,² the brilliant form of the mother of the three worlds—that form which equals in splendour a garland of lightning (produced by clouds), whose wonderful pleasure arises from the sport of the creation, the sustenance, and the destruction of the world, and who is established in the series of scriptures as an ocean of all the auspicious qualities.

2. May the heavenly river (Ganges) that is formed out of the stream of light sprouting forth from the nails (on the feet of) the Lord of Yādavādri, achieve greatness by destroying the fire of *samsāra*.³ In this (river) the faces of Indra⁴ and others (who bow their heads at the feet of the Lord), appear like the shining lotuses in a garland. And here the line of (their) variegated diamond coronets appears like the world of swans.

3. I am not aware of anything more auspicious than the lotus-like feet of the daughter of the milky ocean (*i.e.* of Lakṣmi⁵), the brilliance of whose filament sprouts forth from the coronets

2. Yādavādri, another name for Melkote, the great Śrīvaiśvaram centre, about eighteen miles from the French Rocks station on the Bangalore-Mysore line of the Mysore State Railways.

3. *Samsāra* means the circuit of mundane existence consisting of frequent births and frequent deaths and all their consequences.

4. *Indra*, in Hindu mythology is the name of the Lord of the Heavens or *Swargaloka*.

5. Lakṣmi is the name of the Goddess of fortune, mercy and beauty. She is otherwise known as Śrī, and is regarded in Hindu mythology as the wife of Viṣṇu or *Nārāyaṇa*. In the Taitt. Ār. in the passage, "Hrīcha te Lakṣmīcha patnyau" both *Lakṣmī* and *Hṛī* or modesty personified, are spoken of as the wives of *Viṣṇu*.

of Indra and other gods (who bow their heads at her feet) and who is borne on the head by the ancient goddess of learning (*i.e.* Sarasvati).⁶

4. May the sage *Lakṣmana* (*i.e.* Rāmānuja) who is the moon of the ocean of *Vedānta*, who is the seat of all auspicious qualities, who is always alert, who is possessed of unrivalled greatness and who is full of mercy, grant all that is auspicious (to us).

5. I meditate upon the line of ancient teachers as a new garland, whose gems are possessed of flawless qualities and are strung of innumerable threads of auspicious qualities.

6. To please the learned, the learned *Ananthachārya*, who is the moon unto the ocean of the family of *Seshārya*, composes the *Nyāya Bhāskara* out of enthusiasm.

Here the *Advaitins* say that the unreality (of the phenomenal world) is established by the processes of inference and by the scriptures etc. Here surely the unreality (of the phenomenal universe) is established by the following argument: *Vimatam*? (*i.e.* the object under discussion) is unreal, (1) because it is perceptible, (2) because it is unconscious and (3) because it is limited as is the case with 'shell-silver.' Now here it is not right to name the subject (*i.e.* *Pakṣa*) by the word *vimatam*. *Vimatam* means an object of doubt (as to whether it is included in the subject or not) or it may mean an object of a doubt which itself arises from the relationship of cognizability (*i.e.* a doubt whether any of the objects included in that subject has that relation or not). As such it may be taken to be the characteristic of the subject. Then if what is sought to be proved by the inferential argument in question is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in all its forms, then the fallacy of '*Bādha*' ('or annulment') arises with regard to the *Brahman* and the absolutely non-existent, (*i.e.* according to the *advaitins* the *Brahman* who is real becomes unreal and the absolutely non-existent such as the hare's horn,

6. Sarasvati, in Hindu mythology is regarded as the wife of *Brahma* and is the name of the Goddess of Learning.

7. *Advaita Siddhi* published by the Nirmaya Sagar Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 31.

which is not cognizable, becomes cognizable). If all the objects are taken to be the distinguishing characteristics of the subject, (*i.e.* *Vimatam*) then the attribute of doubt (used in the inferential argument) loses its significance. And if doubt arising from the relationship of cognizability is taken to be the distinguishing characteristic of the subject, then that portion of the clause, which relates to what is other than the knowledge producing the doubt, becomes useless. Thus also is refuted the school that establishes the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in some particular forms.

It has been stated by the opponent as follows:—The word, 'vimatam' refers to a particular object in all its forms. Then too the particular object, which is other than consciousness, is included in the subject, even though it is such as cannot be sublated (as false) by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman* and even though it be cognizable as an entity. And here what is sought to be established is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in all its forms. Then in the school that proves the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the subject in some particular forms the argument would be open to the fallacy of 'redundancy', for in a particular case, that of 'shell-silver', the probandum is found to be at least a portion of the subject. In order to guard against this, the first clause (*i.e.* even though it*Brahman*) is introduced. The second clause is added in order to guard against the *Bädha* (or 'annulment'), that arises in the absolutely non-existent. In order to guard against the *Bädha* (or 'annulment') that arises in the *Brahman*, the clause relating to the qualification (*i.e.* other than consciousness) is introduced. This has been stated in the commentary of *Didhiti* thus:— "The ancient school of logicians have accepted in their inferential argument the fallacy of 'redundancy' when the probandum is found to co-exist in a portion of the subject which is considered in all its forms. In the inferential argument that proves the eternity of the sound, they have added (the words, namely,) articulate sounds to the subject in order to exclude inarticulate sounds."

The modern school of logicians is taken into consideration here. That says as follows:—"What is sought to be proved is the

co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in all its forms. Then no 'redundancy' arises if the probandum co-exists with a portion of the 'subject' in some particular forms. Then in what is sought to be proved, the first clause namely, 'by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.' need not be introduced (in the inferential argument). The two other qualifying clauses are to be inserted in order to guard against the *Bādha* (or 'annulment') in regard to the absolutely non-existent and the *Brahman*. Suppose what is sought to be proved is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in some particular forms, then only one qualifying clause, namely, "even though it is such as cannot be sublated (as false) by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman*" has to be added to the 'subject'.

This is not so. Not one of those, who have established the reality of the phenomenal world has accepted the creation of the shell-silver which cannot be defined [either as being (*sat*) or as non-being (*asat*).] Consequently no redundancy arises when what is sought to be proved, is the co-extensiveness of the probandum with the 'subject' in some particular form. As such the first qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything but the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) will lose its significance. *Bhatta-Bhāskara* and others have accepted the production of the true silver in the shell. In their school, no 'redundancy' arises as the unreality of the phenomenal world will not be established. According to the disputants (*non-advaitins*) the inferential arguments fail (in their results) when the fallacy of 'redundancy' arises. Such being the case (these inferential arguments) must be considered to be those of the opponents (*i.e.* *non-advaitins*). [Here the *advaitins* hold that the shell-silver, which is produced at the time of cognition is undefinable either as *sa*; or as *asat*. Hence it is unreal].

It has been stated by the opponent thus:—" If any follower⁸ of *Bhatta-Bhāskara* asserts the unreality of that (shell-silver), then that qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) will be useful in the course of argument with him. Or it will not be wrong even though there be no

⁸. Ibid. Page 33.

follower of *Bhatta-Bhāskara*, who accepts the unreality of the shell-silver. Regarding those who say that everything is real, the unreality of the shell-silver must be proved first, in order to establish the illustrative example (*i.e.* shell-silver.) Then the unreality of things different from it (*i.e.* the shell-silver) has to be established by the inferential argument stated above. The qualifying clause stated above (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) is used in order to guard against the fallacy of redundancy arising in regard to the shell-silver.

This is not so. Assume that there is a disputant. According to the opinion of that disputant, the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) becomes useful in order to guard against the fallacy of 'redundancy'. In the same way it is possible to assume a disputant who accepts the silver which cannot be sublated (*as false*) by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* and which is unreal. In this school in order to guard against the fallacy of 'redundancy' another qualifying clause has to be added (to the subject). Thus the fallacy of *regressus ad infinitum* will arise. Thus silver which is characterised by such a qualifying clause and which is unreal will have to be accepted by some one or other of the assumed disputants.

It is not proper to prove the usefulness of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything else save through the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.), by (the statement beginning from) 'or' ⁹ etc. The distinctions from consciousness as related to the illusions are found to exist in the *Brahman*. Therefore what is meant by the clause 'other than consciousness' is that those distinctions from consciousness are co-existent and coeval with themselves (*i.e.* illusions). Even though (the clause), 'other than consciousness' be related to the illusions as a practical reality, it is not included in the 'subject' as it means that the distinctions from consciousness are co-existent and coeval with themselves (*i.e.* illusions). Thus the (fallacy of redundancy) is excluded. Even according to the view that holds that (all) negations are positive entities, there is a chance of the fallacy of 'redundancy' to arise (in that inferential argument). Nevertheless in the erroneous knowledge, that this silver

⁹. Ibid. Page 32.

is not subtended by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*, the undefined silver that is associated with that non-sublation (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is produced. Hence by the introduction of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) it is difficult to avoid the fallacy of redundancy.

It may be argued thus. In the erroneous cognition mentioned above, the shell alone, that is associated with the non-sublation (*i.e.* by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) is cognized in its relationship of identity (with that illusion of silver); but no such silver is produced that is associated with the (non-sublation by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*). Hence no such fallacy of redundancy arises here.

This is not so. It is stated in the (*Sāṅkara*) *Bhāskya* on 'superimposition' that as regards the objects their attributes are superimposed mutually one on the other. Accordingly you accept that, where two objects are superimposed mutually one on the other in the relationship of identity, then the attributes of the one associated with it are also superimposed mutually on the other. Hence it is necessary that when that non-sublation of the illusory silver (by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is superimposed in its relationship of identity on another (*i.e.* shell), the attributes (of the silver) that are associated with such non-sublation are also superimposed on those (of the shell). Hence it is not possible to exclude that silver (which is non-sublated by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.) by the above-named qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is not subtended as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* etc.).

It may be argued thus: In the statement, 'this silver is not subtended by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*', the erroneous knowledge cannot possibly be taken as direct. Hence it is stated to be indirect. And in regard to indirect knowledge of things, the theory of *anyathākhyāti*¹⁰ is accepted and the theory

10. *Anyathākhyāti*. This can be best explained by illustrations. A person sees a piece of rope and mistakes it for a snake; Or a person sees the shell and mistakes it for silver. The apprehension of silver in the shell or the snake in a piece of rope is the meaning of *anyathākhyāti*.

of such an illusion (as stated above) is not accepted. Therefore there is no room for the above mentioned fallacy of redundancy to arise. This is not the case; because, if the theory of the *anyathākhyāti* is accepted in regard to direct knowledge, then the cognizabilities corresponding to the theory of such an *anyathākhyāti* have to be in their nature identical with consciousness and cannot possibly possess the double character of substance and attribute.

Indeed, you (*i.e.* the *advaitins*) do not accept, as it is accepted in the school of logicians, that substances and their attributes are of the nature of indivisible limiting conditions; because in relation to the things which are identical with consciousness and which have mutually attained the relation of the distinguished and the distinguishing characteristic, the relation of substance and attribute is determined. Accordingly in only one particular state of consciousness, which has attained identity with all things perceptible, there is oneness with silver through the distinction due to the identity of the shell with consciousness and there is the negation of it (*i.e.* the pot) through the distinction due to identity with the pot (of consciousness). For instance, there are conjunction and its negation through the distinction between the top and the base of a tree (as in the case of the monkey, which sits on the top and not also at the base at the same time). When it is said that the tree is in conjunction (with the monkey) at the top, there is the experience of the conjunction (of the monkey) at the top. Similarly from the experience, 'I know this to be silver,' there is the cognizability of (the silver) identical with consciousness through the distinction due to the identity of what is denoted by the word, 'this,' with consciousness. There is this reason given in your (*i.e.* *advaitic*) system that substances are those, which possess that identity with consciousness which is their distinguishing characteristic and attributes are those which possess that identity with consciousness which is the thing distinguished. If the theory of *Anyathākhyāti* be accepted in relation to indirect knowledge, then in the case of the indirect inference, 'the lake is fiery', it is inappropriate to have fire as the attribute of that lake, which is distinguished by the substantum 'lake'. The reason is

and the fire. In order to make out the relation of substance and attribute between them, it is necessary that the mutual relation of the distinguishing characteristic and the thing distinguished has to be stated (between them). Hence there is no production of fire from its identity with consciousness, through the distinction of the identity of the consciousness with the lake. And so it is not possible for them to stand in the relation of the distinguishing characteristic and the thing distinguished through their existence in different places as stated above.

In the work known as *Advaitasiddhi*, under the section *Jadatva-nirukti*,¹¹ it is stated thus : "What is meant by indefinability has been established from the reason given above in the case of the indirect illusory knowledge thus : There is the cognition, 'I perceive this silver'. Here what is thought of as the object of cognition is (the silver). This cognition cannot appropriately have any other objective substratum (than silver). And so its indefinability has been proved. This will be explained later on. For this reason in regard to the indirect illusory knowledge, the meaning of indefinability has also been explained."

This is explained in the *Laghuchandrika* as follows : "The idea is this : where there is the cognition of the illusion of silver etc. which are in different places (from the one where we are), the identity of consciousness relating to that silver cannot possibly be distinguished by the identity of consciousness relating to what is denoted by the word, 'this'. Therefore the production of silver is accepted in relation to that consciousness, which is distinguished by the shell."

Ignorance is of two kinds, namely, that which brings about unreality and that which brings about non-cognition. Of these, the first is capable of being destroyed by both the direct and the indirect knowledge and it is resident in the Witnessing Principle, which is distinguished by the *antākṣaraya* (or thinking faculty). And the second is capable of being destroyed by direct knowledge and is resident in the consciousness of the *Brahman* as distinguished by the objects. This view (of the author of *Advaitasiddhi*)

11. *Advaitasiddhi*. Published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 309.

is set aside for the reasons given above. If the ignorance, which brings about unreality, does not reside in consciousness as distinguished by objects, then fire etc. which are the modifications of that consciousness, will not be produced in the consciousness, which is distinguished by the lake. Hence in the inference, 'the lake is fiery,' the attribute 'fire' does not appropriately belong to that portion, denoted by the word 'lake'. However, owing to the inappropriateness mentioned above, both the kinds of ignorance have been accepted by *Brahmānanda* and others as resident in the consciousness which is distinguished by objects. Enough of this irrelevant discussion.

Moreover, it is not possible to avoid the fallacy of 'redundancy' in regard to the *Brahman* upon whom the character of being the object of destruction is superimposed; because, according to your view, the *Brahman* is capable of being known by the sixth sense (*i.e.* the mind)¹². Hence it is possible for that erroneous knowledge, that the *Brahman* is the object of destruction, to have the character of direct perception. Such illusory knowledge is capable of being sublated by that knowledge of the *Brahman*, whose attribute is the absence of being the object of destruction and which is not capable of being sublated by any other (knowledge).

It has been stated by the opponent as follows:—

The meaning of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) is that there is the non-sublation by the knowledge of things other than the *Brahman*. Thus the objects of destruction are liable to be sublated by the knowledge relating to the negation of the objects other than the *Brahman* as being the objects of destruction.

This is not so. If it were so, there would result the fallacy of the non-existence of the substratum (*i.e.* *Āśrayasiddhi*); because the phenomenal world is sublated by the knowledge of things other than the *Brahman*. In regard to a superimposed thing there is the sublation of it through the direct perception of its substratum. Hence there is the sublator of the shell-silver with regard to its

^{12.} Ibid. Pages 318 and 366.

collective cognitions, namely, "This is the shell. This is the pot". In this manner there is nothing wrong in the collective cognitions, such as "This is *Brahman*" and "The pot is destructible," sublating the phenomenal world.

Indeed, in the place where there is the shell-silver etc. it does not happen that the sublitor of it is the knowledge not relating to things other than the *Brahman*; because the non-collective (or single) ocular cognition, namely, "This is shell," relates to the shell and to its number and its size etc. which are resident in it, and therefore it will lead to (that cognition) not being the sublitor (of the shell-silver).

It must not be argued as follows:—If the phenomenal world is sublated by the direct perception of the *Brahman*, then that direct perception of the *Brahman*, which has the form, "I am ignorant, and which belongs to the present time, will have to be the sublitor (of the phenomenal world)." Hence the clause, 'that does not relate to things other than the *Brahman*', will have to be added to the qualification of the sublitor. For the knowledge of the shell to the effect that it belongs to a particular class, apprehends as a characteristic of the class, the class to which the shell belongs.

To prevent this knowledge from sublating the shell-silver, the sublitor has to be the possessor of that cognizability, which corresponds to the cognizability of the entire indivisible characteristic of the class¹³ to which the shell belongs. In the same manner in order to prevent the knowledge of the *Brahman* possessed of ignorance etc. from sublating the phenomenal world, the sublitor has to be stated to be that knowledge, which relates to the cognizability of the *Ātman* and which does not correspond to the cognizability of things other than the *Ātman*.

It should not be stated that, for the sake of simplicity it is proper to add the qualifying clause, that it does not relate to objects other than the *Brahman*, to the qualifications of the sublitor with the object of preventing the knowledge of the *Ātman* possessed of ignorance etc. (from being the sublitor). For were

¹³. Ibid. Page 258.

it so, the indeterminate perception relating to the *Ātman* will, through the relation of identity, certainly become the knowledge as possessed of the *Ātman* as the substance and of the *Ātman* as the attribute. As such it is impossible to prevent it from becoming the sublator. For that knowledge also is included in the qualification of the sublator, which is not related to the things other than the *Ātman*, and because also it will lead to the direct perception of the *Brahman* which, as stated above, consists of collective cognitions of not being the sublator; because also Vidyāranya and others have accepted collective cognitions as sublators. It has been stated as follows in the work known as *Dhyāna-Deepika*:¹⁴ "The knower of the truth about the pot is not seen to twist his knowledge of the pot so as to find out that it is dissociated from the knowledge not relating to things other than the pot. If he twists his knowledge of the pot, he is only a meditator on the pot and not the knower of the pot."¹⁵

The meaning of this passage is as follows:—"One does not desire to twist one's mind in order that the knowledge of the truth may be free from (the knowledge) of other things; because its (knowledge) being related to other things will make it relate to truth. In meditation, however, which consists of streams of cognition of the same nature being freed from cognitions of a different nature, that (dissociation of other things) is required.

It has been stated as follows:¹⁶ "According to the opinion of the logicians, the cognitions, namely, 'pot' and 'no-pot', being hypothetical, are not hostile to other cognitions. Similarly, in my opinion also, the collective cognitions stated above, being hypothetical, are not the sublators of the world, because there is contradiction between dualism and non-dualism, as there is between the cognizability of the pot and the negation of the pot, where the cognitions are not hypothetical." It may be said as follows: "Again where through the relation of the distinguishing characteristic of the substances, which possess qualifying characteristics in regard to the production of non-hypothetical knowledge, whose qualifications are distinctions from the pot,

14. Ibid. Page 258.

15. Ibid. Page 254.

there is obstruction to this knowledge through the relationship of the cognizability that is resident in the attributes of the pot. And it may be asked how it can exist between the last two (*i.e.* dualism and non-dualism). If it be so said, it is not right to say so; because the cognition, 'I am the *Brahman*', is produced subsequent to the cognition of the *Brahman* as the only one (non-dualistic entity). At that time there is the revived inner impression of memory with regard to the *Brahman* as being only one (non-dualistic entity). Hence this (impression) is hostile to the cognition of duality. Therefore, as between the last two of them (*i.e.* dualism and non-dualism), the above-said contradiction does properly exist; because for instance the revived inner impression of memory, namely, 'the shell is concomitant with the distinction from silver' is hostile to the mistaken cognition that the shell is silver. Similarly the revived innate impressions of the memory, namely, that the negation of a second (entity) exists in the *Brahman* and that the negation of ignorance etc. exists in the *Brahman*, are hostile to the cognitions of ignorance as a second entity, having the same existence as that of the *Brahman*. It should not be said that in regard to such a collective cognition, which has been stated above and which does not recognise the identity of *Sat* (*i.e.* the *Brahman*) (in all other things). The revived innate impression is not hostile and in producing it there is nothing contradictory, because it has been established elsewhere that the cognizability of things other than the *Sat* is, as a general rule, explained by the identity of the self with all other things. And it being so, the knowledge relating to things other than the *Brahman*, being hypothetical, is no substrator (of the phenomenal world). Therefore the fallacy of the absence of the substratum does not arise."

This is not right. The revived innate impressions, namely, "The negation of a second exists in the *Brahman* etc." may be correct so far as the thing distinguished as a second is concerned in being hostile to the knowledge apprehending the identity of the *sat* (*i.e.* the *Brahman*); yet, so far as the pot, which is distinguished by the attributes of the pot, is concerned, the cognition that apprehends the identity of the *sat* cannot possibly be hostile. And therefore the cognitions, namely, "I am

the *Brahman*," "The pot is destructible" etc. cannot possibly be hypothetical.

It should not be stated that the revived innate impressions, such as 'The negation of the pot exists in the *Brahman*' exist previously; because there is no authority to say that the totality of attributes concomitant with perceptibility possesses the character of the innate impression relating to the *Brahman*, who is characterised by the negation of those attributes. Where the innate impression relating to the negation, which is characterised by any attributes whatsoever, does not exist at a former time there, in relation to the thing distinguished by that attribute, the collective cognitions, such as, "I am the *Brahman*" and "I exist distinguished by that attribute," which apprehend the identity of the *Sat* (with all things) happen to be not hypothetical. Therefore, for this reason, at the time of the interpretation of the scriptural passage, namely, "(there was in the beginning) one only without a second," a doubt is raised as follows:—If the word 'this' gives rise to the knowledge of what is distinguished by reality, then the knowledge, which has in view the *Brahman* that is distinguished by that reality and which relates to the negation of the object that is distinguished by reality and which is produced by the scriptural passage, will have to become hypothetical. Then the answer given by you runs thus:—

"The word 'this' gives rise to the knowledge of what is distinguished by perceptibility. Therefore in regard to the *Brahman*, it is associated with perceptibility, there is produced (from that scriptural passage) this knowledge relating to the negation of duality. This knowledge is non-hypothetical". This answer is satisfactory only to yourself. If two cognitions relating to the negation (of different things) in different forms are accepted to be the sublitor and the sublated, it is difficult to avoid the hypothetical character produced by the above-given scriptural passage. In this manner in the case of the inference which is intended to prove the unreality (of the phenomenal world), in the substratum (i.e. the pot etc.) which is distinguished by particular attributes, it (i.e. collective cognition) relates to the negation (of the pot) as possessing those attributes and it is therefore hypothetical. Nevertheless, the direct perception of the *Brahman* destroys ignorance etc. So also, it, which

consists of collective cognitions sublates the phenomenal world, although it is hypothetical. Therefore, the above-stated fallacy of the absence of the substratum (*i.e.* *Āśrayāśiddhi*) is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning, the following view is also set aside. The meaning of the qualifying clause, (*i.e.* even though it is such as cannot be sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*) may be taken to be this, that it is not sublated by the cognition, which is characterised by attributes, because the error of being the object of destruction is superimposed on the *Brahman* and it is sublated by the cognition characterised by the negation of being the object of destruction. Hence the fallacy of redundancy is set aside.

Because in what is distinguished by the word 'this' the error, namely, 'This is that,' is produced through the mutual negation, which has for its object that which is characterised by the word, 'that'. Therefore 'the fallacy of redundancy' will not be guarded against. There is this reason also, that that error is set aside by the indeterminate cognition relating to the essential nature of a thing that is characterised by 'thisness' and 'thatness' as expressed in the statement, 'This is that,' and therefore its non-sublation by the cognition characterised by attributes remains undisturbed. That cognition which is characterised by attributes and which is found to exist in regard to the portion 'pot' indicated in the (collective cognition) 'I am the *Brahman* and the pot is' destructible'—by means of such cognitions, the sublation of the world results. Therefore the fallacy of *Āśrayāśiddhi*, (the absence of the substratum) arises.

It should not be argued thus : If the above-mentioned collective cognition sublates the phenomenal world, then in regard to the cognition not relating to objects other than the *Brahman* as set out in the scriptural passage, "Knowing Him alone one transcends death," contradiction arises from the statement that it removes ignorance. Because in regard to the sentence : "Eating food alone one attains particular satisfaction," the meaning is that he is possessed of the satisfaction which is produced by the dissociation from not eating

what is not food and by the association of eating what is food. Similarly the meaning of the scriptural passage (which begins with, 'Knowing Him alone') is that one becomes possessed of salvation, which is produced by the dissociation of things other than the *ātman* and by the association with the cognition of the *ātman*. Therefore there is no contradiction here. And also because in the scriptural passage quoted above the participle [*viz.* *Iyap*], 'knowing,' although it means something prior in time, has to suit the purport to be interpreted figuratively so as to mean the cause. There is this reason also. The meaning of the verbal root [to know], which is associated with what is related to the *ātman*, that is denoted by the accusative case, is contained in the *ātman*. Hence the cognition which is qualified by its being related to the *ātman* has assumed the character of the qualification (of that *ātman*) and is interpreted in association with the *ātman*). Thus the character of the cause in relation to such a cognition, as is distinguished by its relation to the *ātman* is obtained. By the word, 'alone,' which means dissociation from other things, the negation, which is distinguished by its relation of exclusion and which relates to things other than the *Brahman*, gives rise to the knowledge of such a cause.

It should not be argued as follows:—Generally the exclusion of the association with the other things (than the one with which the word, 'alone,' is associated) is not known to exist. Therefore the denotative power of the word, 'alone,' relates partly to association with other things and partly to the exclusion (of other things). In the case under reference here, the expression, 'the association with other things,' is intended to mean a being solely related to other things. For instance, when it is said that odour exists in the earth alone, etc. it means that it (*i.e.* the odour) is intimately associated with other things also. Although it does not bring out association with it (*i.e.* that cognition), the substance known as the *ātman* is associated with it (*i.e.* that cognition) through the relation of the *ātman* as the container. Hence it is to be stated that here it is not determined to have become related to things other than the *ātman*. This cannot possibly happen. That which is associated as an attribute in one place, cannot possibly

be associated as an attribute in another place ; because the attribute denoted by the word, 'ātmān,' in the accusative case, cannot be the attribute of the ātmān, if it is other than what it has been stated to be above. For in the instance given above, namely, 'Odour is in the earth alone etc.' the clause, namely, 'with earth etc.' which has assumed the character of the attributes denoted by the locative case, the word, 'alone,' is associated. Similarly in regard to the case under reference here [i.e. the scriptural passage mentioned above], through the variety of the meaning governed by the contexts in the places, where the word, 'alone,' occurs, the interpretation has to be the same.

It must not be argued thus: In the instance, 'the odour is in the earth alone,' the sense of the locative case and the word, 'alone,' are interpreted simultaneously. Therefore there is no need for narrowing the meaning (of the word 'alone') as stated above. Because, in regard to the earth etc. the necessary materials for producing their association with the sense of the locative case comes first to the mind. Therefore for not producing at first such a cognition there is no cause ; for where that by knowledge is not related to what is denoted by the word, 'alone,' and also where it is hostile to the cognition of what is denoted by the word, 'alone,' in conjunction with other words, the reasoning becomes complex. Because also as in the case mentioned above, it possibly happens that in the case (the scriptural passage beginning 'Him alone knowing etc.') the instantaneous interpretation (of both taken together) will have to be accepted. However, according to the maxim known as *tadādi*,¹⁶ as a matter of fact, there is nothing wrong in accepting the power of the word, 'alone,' as denoting the exclusion of other things, which forms the meaning of the word, 'alone,' in association with other words. According to the demonstrated conclusion, in the passage beginning with, 'Him alone,' by associating the word thus, 'Him knowing alone', the word, 'alone,' denotes that exclusion of the want of association, which is not the object of negation existing in the same place with what is sought to be propounded here. Just as in the instance, 'The

16. *Tadādi*: The maxim beginning from that. The meaning is 'that (referring to something seen or experienced before)'.

conch alone is white', there is the cognition of the concomitance of the conch with whiteness, so also there is, in its being caused by the knowledge relating to Him, the cognition concomitant with salvation. Therefore the meditation of Him possessed of auspicious qualities is the cause of salvation and even thus there is no contradiction.

It should not be argued as follows:—The scriptural passage, "Him thus one who knows, immortal he here becomes," indicates that there is no other path of salvation available. What is propounded here is that through the materials, not associated with the knowledge of the *Brahman*, there is nothing that can lead to salvation. If it is caused by that knowledge (*i.e.* of the *Brahman*), then the concomitance with the condition of freedom has already been arrived at. From the passage, 'no other path etc.' it does not happen that what is other than the knowledge of the *Brahma* relates to the negation of its being the cause (of salvation). It has been established in the demonstrated conclusion that among others the grace of the Lord and, the individual souls, which is other than the knowledge of the *Brahman* is the cause of salvation. And accordingly if the passage beginning with, 'Him alone,' has the above-said meaning, then there is nothing new that can be denoted as not having been known through any other means of knowledge as its cause. Because according to your opinion also, in regard to the above scriptural passages, the non-happening of something new is the same (as with us). Because the meaning of the above passage has been already arrived at in the passage, 'Him alone, one, know ye, the self.'

If, according to the argument derived from the aphorism, "If it be said that, owing to the distinction due to its repetition etc. there is distinction among the forms of worship, it is not so even in regard to one and the same form of worship. Repetition is due to the distinction of persons capable of understanding it" the theory of something new is rendered appropriate through the variety of those who study and understand the scriptures, then, in the case of him, who studies his own particular branch (of the scriptures), in each particular passage is given

something new; because that meaning which is not known through other means of knowledge, and which is not dependent on itself and which is hostile to the ignorance of the person who is to be taught by it,—is itself something new.

In order that the passage beginning with, 'Him alone knowing,' may be interpreted so as to prove something new to him, by whom it was learnt, the passage, namely, 'Him alone, one know ye etc.' is another means of knowledge to him, that is not dependent on itself. Even so it is not hostile to the ignorance of the person to whom it is taught. If it be so said, then, even so, something new is rendered appropriate to us in the manner stated above. Therefore the case is the same with us. Thus though that direct perception of the *Brahman* stated above, which is of the nature of collective cognition, may sublate the phenomenal world, it is hostile to the scriptural passage quoted above, and the fallacy of *āśrayāśiddhi* (*i.e.* the want of substratum) is difficult to avoid.

It should not be argued as follows:—There are things governed corresponding to their governors, which are distinguished by their character of being other than the *Brahman*. Similarly there are other things than those whose negations are characterised either by themselves or by their material causes. This itself may be the meaning of the qualification ending with non-sublation quoted above (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the knowledge of the *Brahman*). The negation distinguished by either the shell-silver or its material cause governs distinctly what is related distinctly in relation to the shell. Hence, being the object of destruction it has the distinction of having as its substratum what is distinguished as its container denoted by the word, 'this,' and having for its thing contained, what is distinguished by the word, 'that'. This is similar to the above and therefrom results its exclusion.

Or the meaning of the qualifying clause (*i.e.* even though it is sublated as false by anything other than the *Brahman*) may be this: that it is other than what is characterised by being other than the *Brahman*. This characterisation is due to the relations of (1) being in the same locus as itself and (2) of certainty that is not set aside by the cognition relating to the falsehood relating to itself.

(3) This character of being the object of mutual negation is due to the relationship, which is possessed of mutual negation, whose object is distinguished from its own characteristics and (4) its own characteristic is due to the relation distinguished by the relation of either its being anterior in time or its existing at the same time as the ignorance that governs it. Accordingly, the shell-silver etc. are through the above mentioned relations associated with the shell. The above mentioned character of being the object of destruction etc. associated with the *Brahman*, who is characterised by the negation of having the qualification of destruction. And the *Brahman* possessed of characterised attributes is distinct from the pure *Brahman*. The distinction (or mutual negation) stated above is characterised by the essential nature that is characterised by 'thatness' and 'thisness'. For these reasons there is no room for the fallacy of redundancy stated above nor is there the fallacy of *Asrayasiddhi* (i.e. the want of substratum). Because according to the view,¹⁸ which holds that there are many ignorances, although by means of the qualifying clause (i.e. even though etc.) the shell-silver is set aside, it is not set aside in the case of the view that holds there is only one ignorance. In the case of the (latter) view, even at the time of the cognition of the knowledge of the shell, the ignorance relating to the material cause of the shell-silver exists, because also even according to the view that holds that there are many ignorances, the container of the mutual negation is characterised by the *Brahman* and the contained of (the said mutual negation) is characterised by the generic character of the cognition. There results the error that the *Brahman* is not consciousness. Thus if it (i.e. the error) is sublated by the cognition resulting from the testing passage, beginning with, 'Truth, Knowledge,' the fallacy of redundancy is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning, the following view is also set aside:—The meaning of the above mentioned qualifying clause (i.e. even though, etc.) may be this, that there is no sublation by the knowledge that is devoid of the totality of cognizability (without distinction) which resides in the *Brahman*. The

18. *Advaitasiddhi*. Published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay along with *Laghuchandrika*. Page 545.

expression namely, 'the totality of cognizability without distinction' is taken to mean that it is distinct from the character of being the attributes. From this although the cognition, 'This is shell,' has the character of being the totality of attributes without distinction, which exists in the *Brahman* in the case of the shell-silver, there is neither the fallacy of redundancy nor the fallacy of *āśrayāśiddhi* (i.e. the want of substratum).

Again the meaning of the qualifying clause may be this: That it is the non-sublation by the knowledge of other things, whose cognizability corresponds to the *Brahman*, as qualified by the characters of the *Brahman* and the individual souls. The object of the knowledge produced by the passage beginning with, 'Truth etc.' is determined as the *Brahman* as characterised by truth, etc. Yet what the characteristics of the individual souls are, is not determined by it (i.e. the passage beginning with 'truth' etc.) Hence there is no fallacy of redundancy in the case of the (above-mentioned) distinction (between the *Brahman* and the individual souls).

This is not so. According to the opinion of the dualists, the cognizability of the *Brahman* as qualified by the character of being the *Brahman* and the individual souls is unknown to exist. Because also in relation to the cognitions, which have the same forms, the distinction of cognizability is untrue. And the knowledge derived from the passage beginning with, 'Truth, knowledge etc.' is not different in form from the knowledge derived from the passage, beginning with, "That Thou art". For such a knowledge there is no dissociation from the possession of the cognizability of the *Brahman* characterised by the character of the individual souls. Therefore the fallacy of redundancy it is difficult to avoid.

By means of the above reasoning the following view is also set aside:—The meaning of the above qualifying clause may be taken to be this: that it is being other than (the cognition of the *Brahman*) so as to be characterised by the cognizability, which is not distinguished as the product of the grand passages (like, 'That Thou art'). This characterisation is due to the relations of (1) being in the same locus as itself and (2) of certainty that is not set aside by the cognition relating to the falsehood relating to itself, (3) (This character of being the object of mutual negation is due)

to the relationship, which is possessed of mutual negation, whose object is distinguished from its own characteristics and (4) its own characteristic is due to the relation distinguished by the relation of its being anterior in time or its existing at the same time as the ignorance that governs it. Its own characteristic is due to either of the relations mentioned above. Accordingly such a distinction is associated through the above-mentioned relations with the cognizability, which are taught in the passage beginning with the word, 'Truth etc.' and which does not form the characteristic of the grand passage. Hence the fallacy of redundancy is guarded against. If in relation to the grand passages, there is cognition produced by the one or the other, then the fallacy of being too wide (*i.e.* *vyabhichāra*) arises. In order to guard against it, cognizability is introduced into the immediately subsequent, which is the characteristic of the product. The cognizability, taught as having been produced by the grand passage, does not form part of the product of such a passage. Hence the fallacy of *āśrayāśiddhi* (*i.e.* want of substratum) arises.

It must not be argued here thus:—The meaning of this qualifying clause may be taken to be this that it is other than what is characterised by the knowledge that is not produced by the grand passage (*i.e.* "That Thou art"). Being characterised by the knowledge is due to its relationship of being the contained. To be the characteristic of the grand passage is proved to be non-dualism, owing to its having for its purport the non-distinction of the soul and the *Brahman*. Accordingly in relation to what is characterised by the *Brahman*, there is the distinction characterised by the knowledge. In regard to this distinction, there is the knowledge which is not produced by the grand passage and which is produced by the passage containing commandments. This knowledge, through the aforesaid relation of being the contained, is characterised by that distinction. Therefore the reasoning is not redundant as aforesaid.

This is not so; because were it so at the time of the non-determinate cognition, produced by the passage beginning with 'That Thou art,' the then existing cognition of the pot would be due to the relation of the thing contained, and the world is characterised by that cognition of the pot. Therefore the fallacy of redundancy arises.

(To be concluded.)

THE VEDĀNGAS AND THEIR VALUE

BY G. SITARAMIAH, M.A.

The term *vedāṅga* literally means "a limb of the *Veda*". This meaning is borne out by a statement in the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*, which says:—

छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते
योतिषामयनं चक्षुः निरुक्तं ओत्रमुच्यने ।
शिक्षा ग्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्
तस्मात्साङ्गमधीत्येव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

Tradition enumerates six *vedāṅgas*. It is very difficult to determine where and when the *vedāṅgas* were first mentioned as six. Some scholars hold that the earliest mention of the *Vedāṅgas* is found in the *Mundakopaniṣad* which declares:—

द्वे विद्ये वेदांतव्यं इन्हि सा यद्वास्विदो वदन्ति परा चैवापरा च ।
तत्रापरा ऋषेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथवेदः शिक्षा कल्पो
व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो योतिषमिति ।
अथ परा यथातदक्षरमधिगम्यने ।

Prof. Max Müller suspects this passage to be an interpolation. The *vedāṅgas* are enumerated by Yāska, the *Carana-vyūha*, and Manu also. Manu, however, deals with the *Vedāṅgas* under the title, *Pravacanas*. (iii 184.) अग्रणाः सर्वेषु वेदेषु सर्वप्रवचनेषु च ।

There is a reference to the *Vedāṅgas* in the *Saḍvimsā Brāhmaṇa*, which belongs to the *Sāma Veda*, where it is said of *Svāhā*, that her body consists of four *vedas*, and that her limbs are the six *āṅgas* of the *Veda*.

तत्वारोऽस्यै वेदाः शरीरं पद्मान्यज्ञानं ।
ओषधिवदनस्तयो लोमानि ॥

Here, although the number six is given, the titles of the several subjects are not given. Any way, this can be taken to be the earliest enumeration of the Vedāngas.

The purpose of the Vedāngas is given in a short sentence by Sayana—

अतिगम्भीरत्वं वेदस्यार्थमवबोधयितुं शिक्षादोनि पद्मानिप्रवृत्तानि ॥

The name Vedāṅga originally meant neither special books nor special schools, but only subjects of instruction, the study of which was essential either for the reading, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Veda.

The beginnings of the Vedāngas go back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas where the explanations of the sacrificial ritual are mixed with occasional discussions on matters relating to phonetics, etymology, grammar, metrics and astronomy. These subjects were treated systematically in due course, in special treatises or texts in the form of sūtras. The sūtra form was meant to serve the practical purpose of presenting some science systematically and concisely, so that the pupil may easily commit it to memory. Winteritz says: "There is probably nothing like these Sūtras of the Indians in the entire literature of the world." Prof. Macdonell writes: "The prose in which these works are composed is so compressed that the wording of the most laconic telegram would often appear diffuse compared with it." "Saying as much as possible in as few words as possible" was probably the motto of the writers of these works. Patañjali states in his Mahābhāṣya :—

अर्थमालालाघवं पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणः ।

The six subjects commonly comprehended under the title of Vedāngas are :

1. Śikṣā	...	Pronunciation
2. Chandas	...	Metre
3. Vyākaraṇa	...	lit. (Analysis)—Grammar
4. Nirukta	...	Etymology
5. Jyotiṣa	...	Astronomy, and
6. Kalpa	...	Ceremonial or Ritual.

The first two are necessary for the reading of the Veda, the next two for understanding it and the last two for employing it at sacrifices.

ŚIKṢĀ

Sayana defines Śikṣā thus: वर्णस्त्रायुचारणं प्रकारे यत्तोऽपदिश्यते सा शिक्षा । or the science of the pronunciation of letters and accents.

The doctrine of Śikṣā arose out of a religious need; for, inaccurate pronunciation of Vedic texts was thought to bring disaster to the sacrificer. It is said in the Śikṣā,

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाद् ।

सवाम्बज्जो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशब्दः स्वरातोऽपराधात् ॥

Samhitā-paṭhas and Pada-Paṭhas are the oldest productions of the Śikṣā schools. There is another class of writings called the Pratiśākhya-s which contain the rules by the aid of which one can easily turn the Pada-paṭha into the Samhitā-paṭha. Pratiśākhya-s are the oldest text-books of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. They contain instruction upon the whole manner of the recitation of the Samhitā. Every Śākha had a text-book of this nature and hence the name Pratiśākhya. The R̥gveda Pratiśākhya is ascribed to Saunaka and the Vājasaneyi—Pratiśākhya-Sūtra is ascribed to Kātyāyana. There is a Pratiśākhya for the Atharvaveda and it seems to belong to the school of the Śauṇakas. The Puṣpa-Sūtra is a kind of Pratiśākhya to the Uttarāgāna of the Sāmaṇeva.

"The history of grammatical study in India," in the words of Winternitz, "commences with these Pratiśākhya-s."

The Pratiśākhya-s, however, are not grammatical works themselves; but they treat of subjects pertaining to grammar and quote from many grammarians. They are further important because they settled for all time the Samhitā portion of the Veda. Besides there are modern Śikṣā manuals in verse form which are ascribed to Vyāsa, Bhāradvāja and others; these are not important. Prof. Max Müller speaks of the Pratiśākhya-s in these words:

"They are written for practical purposes; their style is free from cumbrous ornaments and unnecessary subtleties. It is their object to teach and not to edify; to explain, not to discuss."

CHANDAS

The second Vedāṅga is Metre. Sāyāra maintains that whoever officiates at a sacrifice, ignorant of metrics, becomes a sinner. The names of several metres occur in the Rgveda and some Brāhmaṇas. But what is found in the Brāhmaṇas about metre is not of much use as it is often full of dogmatic and mystical ingredients.* The Chandasūtra of Piṅgala which is spoken of as a Vedāṅga is not of great antiquity. It treats of Prākṛti as well as Sanskrit metres. Piṅgala is an authority on Metrics. The Nidāna-Sūtra contains some metrical investigations regarding the Sāma-Veda. It is often Prapāṭhakas and gives a kind of index to the metres as they occur in hymns employed at several sacrifices.

VYĀKARANA

The third Vedāṅga is Vyākaraṇa. In the considered opinion of Sāyāra, grammar is the most important of the Vedāṅgas. He says: प्रधानं च वृत्त्वादेषु व्याकरणम् ।

The purpose of the study of grammar is given by Vatāruci in his Vārtika as: रक्षोदागमलक्ष्यसंदेहाः प्रयोजनम् ॥

The study of grammar facilitates the avoidance of incorrect words (अपश्यता:). The Vyākaraṇa Vedāṅga is represented by the Aṣṭādhyātīt of Pāṇini. Vedic forms are treated by Pāṇini as exceptions to classical Sanskrit usage.

Prof. Max Müller writes:

"Instead of considering the third Vedāṅga doctrine as represented by the grammarians beginning with Pāṇini, as Indian authors do, it would be more correct to say that it is represented by the grammarians ending with Pāṇini (पाणिन्यन्ताः)"

Pāṇini's work has come to be regarded as an infallible authority. Pāṇini superseded all his predecessors and consequently all previous grammatical efforts have, as good as, perished.

The Upādi Sūtras and the Phīṭsūtras are two separate grammatical treatises which belong to a period anterior to Pāṇini. It may be that the Upādi Sūtras were meant for the veda only and that they were later enlarged by adding rules on the formation of non-vedic words.

The Phīṭśūtras treat only of accent and we know that it is only Vedic Sanskrit that is accented. Hence it is probable that Śāntana, author of the Phīṭśūtras was anterior to Pāṇini.

NIRUKTA

The fourth Vedāṅga is Nirukta. It is represented by but one work which is known by the name of Yāskā's Nirukta. Sāyaṇa describes the utility of this vedāṅga in the following manner:

अर्थवाचे निरपेक्षतया पदजातं वलोक्तं तश्चिलकम् ।

एकैकस्य वदस्य संभाविता अथवाचार्यालत्र निःशेषेणोच्यन्त इतिष्ठुत्पत्तेः ॥

Yāskā's work applies itself exclusively to vedic etymology. It is itself a commentary on the Nighaṇṭus and not an independent treatise. The object of this Vedāṅga is etymological explanation or interpretation of difficult vedic words. The value of the Nirukta which has come down in twelve chapters consists in its being the oldest extant commentary on the Veda.

Tradition erroneously ascribes the Nighaṇṭus also to Yāskā.

The Nighaṇṭus are five lists of words divided into three sections. *Viz.* :—

- (1) Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa
- (2) Naigama Kāṇḍa and, lastly, the
- (3) Daivata Kāṇḍa.

Vedic exegesis probably began with the compilation of such glossaries.

It is undoubted that Yāskā had many predecessors, seventeen of whom he quotes. The Nirukta, though certainly very old and the oldest existing work on Vedic exegesis, can only be regarded as the last production of the literature of the Vedāṅga-Nirukta.

Yāskā, incidentally comments upon a large number of līks of the Rigveda. (About 600 detached stanzas.)

The Nirukta is highly interesting as the earliest specimen of Sanskrit Prose of the classical type, considerably earlier than Pāṇini himself.

Thus, a study of the Nirukta is indispensable for the correct comprehension of the Vedic texts and traditional interpretation.

JYOTIŚA

Astronomy is the fifth Vedāṅga. Its literature is scanty. The Vedāṅga-Jyotiśa is a small manual of Astronomy in verse form. It has two recensions; in the R̄gveda recension it contains thirty-six verses while in the Yajurveda recension it possesses forty-three verses. Its object is not to teach astronomy but to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifices. Sāyāṇa says "कालविदेशा नवगमयितुं ज्योतिषमुपयुजते।". The doctrines upheld in the Vedāṅga-Jyotiśa represent the earliest stage of Hindu Astronomy. Frequent allusions to astronomical subjects are already found in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. Even in the Samhitās there is an indication of a certain advance in the observation of the moon, as the measure of time.

The Caranavyūha speaks of an Upajyotiśa as a supplementary treatise on astronomy which is only one of the Parīkṣṭas.

KALPA

We now come to the last Vedāṅga, namely Kalpa or Ritual.

The first Vedāṅga to receive systematic treatment in special manuals, the Kalpa-sūtras, is Kalpa or ceremonial. The Kalpa-sūtras arose out of the need for compiling the rules for the sacrificial ritual in a shorter, more manageable and connected form for the practical purposes of the priests.

Kalpa is the most complete Vedāṅga being more practical than the Brāhmaṇas. In the words of Prof. Max Müller "The Kalpa-sūtras have the advantage of being clear, short, complete, and correct."

The Kalpa-sūtras presuppose not only the existence of three distinct collections of Brāhmaṇas but also of different Śākhās. They were intended by their authors for more than one caranya or adopted to more than one Śākhā.

Kalpa-sūtras dealing with the Śrauta Sacrifices taught in the Brāhmaṇas are called Śrauta-sūtras and those dealing with the domestic ceremonies and sacrifices of daily life are called Gṛhya-sūtras. The Śrauta-sūtras are our most important source for the

understanding of the Indian Sacrifice-cult and as a source for the history of religion, they are very significant.

The contents of the *Gṛhya-sūtras* are more interesting and more manifold. The *Samskāras* of an Indian, from the moment when he is conceived in the womb till the hour of his death, are dealt with in these *Gṛhya-sūtras*. Thus we are able to know a large number of genuinely popular customs and usages of the Indians of olden days. *Śrāddhas* or ancestral sacrifice, which originally formed part of the *Gṛhya-sūtras* assumed great importance and therefore were treated in minutest detail in special texts called *Śrāddha-Kalpas*.

Though the *Gṛhya-sūtras* are not attractive as literary productions they are of inestimable value as they give us a deep insight into the life of the ancient Indians.

"They are in truth a real treasure for the ethnologist." Winternitz calls these *Sūtra* works "Folklore Journals" of ancient India.

The *Dharma-sūtras* are a continuation of the *Gṛhya-sūtras*. They deal with secular as well as religious law, which indeed are inseparable in India. They form a component part of text-books of ritual.

The *Sulva-sūtras* are attached to the *Śrauta-sūtras* and they are the oldest works on Indian geometry. They contain exact rules for the measurement and building of the *Vedi* and fire-altars.

Sayana explains the word *Kalpa* as follows :—

कल्यते समर्थ्यते यागप्रयोगोऽलेति व्युत्पत्तेः ॥

Prof. Max Müller writes :

"The *Kalpa-sūtras* are important in the history of Vedic literature, for more than one reason. They not only mark a new period of literature, and a new purpose in the literary and religious life of India, but they contributed to the gradual extinction of the numerous *Brāhmaṇas*, which to us are therefore only known by name. The introduction of a *Kalpa-sūtra* was the introduction of a new book of liturgy."

It should here be borne in mind that the Vedāngas are not Śruti but Smṛti. Even the Śrauta-sūtras are not "revealed texts" because they were composed by human authors. The style of the Vedāngas is business-like in the extreme; the curt and dry style of the Sūtras, a style peculiar to India.

A careful study of these Vedāngas will go a long way in the correct comprehension of the real meaning of a large number of Vedic hymns.

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PROTO-INDIC RELIGION *

BY S. BRIKANTHA BĀSTRI, M.A.

V

ESCHATOLOGY of the Proto-Indic people. Sir John Marshall and others without a sufficient knowledge of the Vedic civilisation have made many assertions regarding the non-Āryan character of the Indus civilisation. But they had to admit that the Indus people disposed off the dead by cremation. The recent excavations at the cemetery site at Harappa by M. S. Vats show first the continuity of the Harappa tradition, and secondly, the prevalence of various methods of disposal of the dead. In the upper level of the cemetery area the pot-burials were characterised by human remains only and over them were goblets, toys (?) and cakes. Probably the bodies were exposed to birds and beasts. The multiple burials in the same pot possibly point to the fact that either by accident or design the bones of several persons were placed in the same urn. The shapes of the pots are quite different and they are covered with bowls. The decorations on the pots are realistic—fishes, birds, leaves, flying kites, horns with leaves. The peacocks are predominant and in the body of the peacock a human figure is depicted. Some of the peacocks are 'horned'. Bulls are held by two ropes by two human beaked figures with bows and arrows. A bull is being chased by a hound. Goats with tridents on the heads, composite animals, stars, birds and leaves are also figured.

The ellipsoid jars had stereotyped peacocks, fishes, pairs of peacock heads joined U-wise, triangles and horns, three leaves on the heads of peacocks, the *markhor* goat, trees and birds. A jar decorated with the finger tip or groove pattern had a baby's skeleton in an embryo position. Some jars had only the skull and bones. The holes in the neck of the jars were perhaps meant for tying the covers, though it is quite possible to tie them down without the holes.

* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. 3, page 292.

Within the jars were painted vases, two cog-wheel shaped nose-discs of steatite with holes in the centre. A round jar had both calcined and uncalcined bones, a drinking goblet of the Harappa period, dishes, triangular cakes, terracotta balls, bangles, stone pestles and figurines of birds. The bodies were perhaps first exposed, partly burned and then buried. The babies were not exposed but tied in embryo position by a cloth, with the right arm over the abdomen and placed in the urn.

In the stratum II earth burials were common. In the eastern section there were whole burials but in the north area there was invariably fractional burial. The usual position of the skeleton was from east to west, west to east being rare only when fully stretched. The head was usually turned on the left cheek so that the bodies faced south. The left arm is placed over the shoulder and the right hand on the left arm and pelvis. The feet are also turned to the left. No pottery was found with this type. Where the right leg is flexed the right hand is brought over the abdomen and the left over the right hand above the pelvis.

The fully stretched skeletons from west to east are rare. The pottery in all places were near the foot and consist of *kalasas*, saucers under the feet, water jars and flasks. The sheep or goats were deliberately sacrificed and the bones were placed in the hand of the skeleton.

Some skeletons, from north-east to south-west were lying on the left side in a flexed position and the jars were painted with figures of light (winged?). Other skeletons had both legs doubled up. The vessels placed near the legs resemble the ordinary Mohenjo-Daro pottery but the food plates placed near the legs are different. Dismembered and fractional burials south-west to north-east were found without pottery.

In the eastern section, the orientation is north-east to south-west or west to east. Only five skeletons were found with flexed legs and the others were fully stretched. There was some grave-furniture but not with incomplete burials. The pots were placed at the head or feet. The types were the *kalasa* (for water) with a flask in it and cover, a *ghaṣa*, bowls decorated with peacocks,

trees, leaves, fishes, hands, tassels, etc. as in stratum I, dishes resembling Kish bowls of pre-sargonic age, champagne vases as in Carchemish and Kish, used according to Langdon as eating plates, pear-shaped and round flasks.

In the Harappa cremation urns there were bones, some charred, of animals, birds, fish etc. There were no human bones (except one solitary tibia). The urns also had goblets with pointed bases, cylindrical vases, toys, balls, beads, bangles, toy carts, wheels, shell, cereals, ashes, charcoal, tortoise shell, antlers, melon-seeds etc. These post-cremation urns were found both in the streets and under the drains as well as beneath the floors of the houses. Fifty-four vases were found under the same lane in stratum V. The post-cremation urns have a deep red or cream slip. The poly-chrome pottery though comparatively not so abundant are found in all the levels. The paintings are in horizontal registers, with black bands, dots, geometrical figures, humans and animals in black in red. Among the animals only the goat (and bull?) figures on the pots. Palm trees, centaurs (?), birds, cross or eagle, fish, fisherman with net, tortoise, crabs, star objects, goat suckling a kid, four humans with tridents or plants or, horns on their heads, the date tree, acacia, banana (?) pipal, the 'comb', svastika, T. shapes, the so-called hide motive (intersecting circles), basket, heart, and fish scale designs, rayed circles, geometrical designs, triangles, chess-board chequers, dots are depicted on these funerary pottery.

Vats refutes Mackay's statement that there is no evidence of funerary figurines. Some of the figurines are found within the post-cremation jars and are purely funerary. A bangle is clearly seen on a funerary figurine. (Vats. Pl. LXXVI).

M. S. Vats has pointed out that some of the paintings on the pots can be explained in the light of Vedic funeral customs. The 'homo' sign within the body of the peacock represents, he thinks, the *sukṣma karīra*, wavy lines the Vaitarani river, the hounds chasing a bull—the dog of Yama. The sun symbol, trees and leaves, birds, fishes represent the various elements into which the various parts of man are supposed to merge at the time of

death according to Rg. X—16—3 and Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra. He thinks that in Rg. X—16—6 there is a reference to the exposure of the body first and then cremation and burial.

I shall presently adduce Vedic evidence to show that the conception of after life of the Indus people tallies exactly with the Atharvan conception. Meanwhile let us take the two facts of flexed or extended burial and orientation from east to west or north to south, in the other ancient civilisations.⁵⁵

In Mesopotamia, the Al-Ubaid dead were buried at full length on pot sherds with necklets, armlets and studs of obsidian for the nostrils, as in the II stratum of the Harappa cemetery. In the Jemdat Nasr period, the bodies were placed in a crouched, tightly contracted position with amulets of birds, animals, stamp seals of geometric patterns, and cylinder seals of a new design. In the so-called 'royal' tombs at Ur, wholesale slaughter took place and the bodies were placed in an underground chamber covered with true domes. In the 'Y' trench (the lowest) at Kish there were traces of human sacrifices. In the poorer graves the bodies were placed on the sides in a semi-contracted gently flexed position, holding cups to the mouth with both hands. The bodies were wrapped in matting secured with bronze pins or in wood or basket coffins. Later burials were in terracotta coffins of the "larnax" type. In the Akkadian period the dead were buried beneath the floors of private houses. The bodies were laid on the side holding always a cup of water to mouth. Woolley⁵⁶ also says that at Ur-Warka, in the Jemdat Nasr period large clay bowls were inverted over the graves. The bodies were wrapped in matting or in coffins of wicker work, lying on the sides with hands in front of the face and the legs bent, a posture absent in all the later Mesopotamian periods. Woolley mentions that in the earliest graves partial cremation of the head took place in the grave itself, later came burial in a flexed posture. Large clay jars had pots and bopes and were considered by Woolley to be foundation deposits but the analogy with Indus burials shows that this kind of jar burial was also practised in the archaic period of Sumer.

55. Childe. *New Light*⁵⁷; Seton Lloyd. *Mesopotamia*.

56. Woolley. *Royal Tombs at Ur*.

In Egypt⁵⁷ the tomb of Sabu at Sakkara conforms to the earliest type of tomb in Egypt. The burial was in a flexed position on the right side with the head to the north. Wood coffins were used and there is no mummification in this period. In the tomb of Aha⁵⁸ (3400 B.C.) there was brick casing for funeral barque. In the tomb of the Second Dynasty the body was in a flexed position on the left side, the head to the north. Near the head copper axes, daggers, chisels were placed. The pots near the body were unbroken but others were deliberately broken in ritual. In the early Tasian culture we find contracted burials, outside the villages; at Merinde the burials were within the houses in a sleeping flexed attitude facing east. In Badari and Amratian cultures the burials were in flexed or crouched position in trench graves facing west.

In the Iran high lands, at Sūsa I the burials were flexed as well as extended. Also we find bones gathered together after the flesh had decayed. Frankfort thinks that Sūsa I is the parent of Al-Ubaid culture. In Sūsa II the Elamites were normally interred after the flesh decayed. The bones were deposited in the bare earth or protected by clay sarcophagi or in brick vaults as also at Musyan (Sūsa I b),⁵⁹

In Nineveh II c⁶⁰ influenced by the Halaf and Arpachiyah (IV-V) there was partial burial as in Elam, Nineveh IV and Tepe Gawra; and the funerary jars resemble those of Harappa. The children were buried in jars. At Anau II also the children were buried in a contracted position in jars.

In Syria and Anatolia, at Ugarit⁶¹ (Ras Shamra) in the Level II (C. 2000 B.C.) the tombs were rectangular chambers with sloping walls and covered with two big slabs—the forerunners of the Mycenaean dromos and corbelled vault tombs. At

57. *III. L. News.* 27th Feb. 1937.

58. *III. L. News.* 12th Feb. 1938.

59. Sydney Smith. *History of Assyria*.

60. Childe. *New Light*.

61. *III. L. News.* Nov. 2, 1939; Nov. 29, 1939; Nov. 21, 1931; Mar. 12, 1932; Feb. 11, 1933; Mar. 3, 1934; Apr. 27, 1935; Feb. 12, 1936; Feb. 29, 1936; Feb. 20, 1937.

Mari⁶² (Tell Harri) in the Jemdat Nasr period, three vaulted stone tombs were found below the shrine of Ishtar, with burial furniture.

In Palestine at Megiddo⁶³ in the Level X (C. 1600 B. C.) of the Middle Bronze II, the burials were in an extended position, and the children were placed in jars. In the Level XI (1700 to 1650 B. C.) there were tombs of stone under the house floors. At Lachish⁶⁴ (Tell Derweir) in the Chalcolithic period the earliest settlements of the troglodytes there were oval burial chambers approached by a narrow shaft, with Mesopotamian types of copper daggers and javelins. Just prior to the Hyksos period there were contracted burials with black pricked juglets, scarabs, bronze-toggle pins etc.

In Cyprus,⁶⁵ the neolithic culture of Khirokitia is marked by a sacred enclosure with four skeletons in a contracted position, one being under a rectangular platform. At Erinni and Kyrenia in the earliest (V) layer of the stone age (C. 4000 B. C.) a skeleton in a contracted position was found. It is assumed that there were no funeral rites and the dead were buried outside the houses.

In Crete⁶⁶ Pendlebury found the first neolithic graves at Kastellos. In Early Minoan I period the caves became burial places, the old bodies being swept aside for the new burials. In Early Minoan II circular tombs appear with the old style of roofs of reeds and clay. At Messara fires were lit in the tombs possibly for purification, but there is no evidence of cremation. In Early Minoan III larnax and pot burials became the fashion. In M. M. I. circular tombs with votive or funerary deposits and rectangular ossuaries are found. Larnax and pithos burials are now common. In the ossuaries the poly-chrome urns have in the middle a figure of a bird or an ox. In M. M. II rock shelters and circular tombs were still used. In M. M. III there is no change in the burial

62. *III. L. News.* Oct. 13, 1934; Sep. 7, 1935; Oct. 30, 1936; May 28, 1938.

63. *III. L. News.* June 20, 1936; June 16, 1934; Oct. 16, 1937.

64. *III. L. News.* July 6, 1936.

65. *III. L. News.* Dec. 23, 1933; Jan. 19, 1935; Nov. 28, 1936; Dec. 26, 1936.

66. *III. L. News.* Nov. 28, 1936; March 5, 1938; June 3, 1939; Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*.

customs. The rock shelters are converted into tombs and pithos burials are common. In southern Crete the circular tombs are abandoned. In L. M. II the royal tomb at Isopata is in the form of a sloping dromos, with a corbelled door-way. In the main chamber was a burial cist and a niche. The tomb of the double axes had a cist in the shape of a double axe. The pithoi are decorated with incisions, papyrus, raised medallions, rosettes, fringed reeds, double axes with reduplicated blades. The larnakes have oval, papyrus and adder mark patterns. In L. M. III pithos burial dies out and larnax burial becomes the regular mode. The chamber tombs are now true tholos. At Tylissos an instance of cremation burial was found. This is the first case of deliberate cremation in Crete, possibly of a foreigner. The painted sarcophagi of Agia Triadha are interesting. There are chariots, one drawn by winged griffins, with two females, one with a tall head dress, another chariot drawn by horses has two female worshippers. There is a procession of women and a flute player passing by an altar over which lies a trussed ox with its throat cut and the blood pouring into a bracket-shaped vase. Below the altar there are two crouched calves. A woman in front with jacked and baggy kilt of mottled skin, the tail hanging behind is pouring something on the altar. Behind the altar there is a double axe with a long shaft and a raven perched on it in front of a shrine surmounted by sacred horns and enclosing an olive tree. On the other side of the larnax, a woman is pouring blood into a cauldron set between two double axes on stands. On each axe is a bird. Another woman has two buckets slung over her shoulders and behind her a man is playing on a seven-stringed lyre. Three men are carrying a boat-shaped object, probably a calf, towards a door-way where a man is shown as rising out of the ground near an altar. Evidently these are ritual ceremonies and offerings to the dead in the secondary burials.

In Moravia⁶⁷ a few burials of men in contracted position were discovered. The Danubians were broad headed Anatolians who usually burnt the dead. According to the Myers, the early round-headed people of Central Europe also burnt the dead.

67. *III. L. News.* Ap. 6, 1934; June 23, 1934.

The Etruscans of Italy burnt the dead and placed the ashes in large terracotta jars or bronze jars shaped like human beings and placed on bronze chairs. Sometimes also the whole body was placed in a jar. The tombs were on the model of the Etruscan houses. The cemeteries were in a bee-hive form.

In the trans-Indian sites cremation is found at Mehri and Dabarkot. At Shahitump in Makran the interment was both flexed and extended.⁶⁸ At Nal⁶⁹ and Nundara fractional burial as well as complete burials in brick graves are found. At Gomal the urns for the dead contained small vessels, cups, jugs, blades and stone arrow heads (sometimes bronze pieces) figurines etc. and assigned to 5000 B.C. Later graves showed signs of exposure of bodies to birds and beasts before burial. The vessels in the graves contained iron objects and arrow heads.

To sum up this survey :

Burials tightly contracted—Tashian, Merimde (facing east), Badarian—crouched facing west, Naquada—doubled up after decay of flesh (?), Gerzean—no regular orientation, J. Nasr—strictly contracted or crouched, Cyprus (early)—sitting or contracted.

Extended—Al-Ubaid on a mosaic of broken pot sherds, Sūsa I (some also flexed), Samarra—in bricklined cists, Shahitump—extended and flexed, Cyprus (later)—fully extended.

Flexed—Shahitump, Sūsa I a, Ur-Early Dynasty—legs at right angles to the trunk. Shahitump bodies facing north, and on the right or left sides, bowls at head and back.

Secondary or Fractional—Sūsa I, Early Pre-Dynastic Egypt, Nal—both complete and fractional.

Post-cremation—Erech-incineration of extended bodies wrapped in clay and fires kindled in the hall, bodies partially cremated. Ur-partial burning of the head. Surghul in Akkad (?).

Animal sacrifices—Badari—cattle and sheep ceremoniously buried. Egypt Amratian—dogs with their masters. Ur-royal graves. Shahitump—charred remains of lambs, goats etc.

68. *Aurel Stein. Catalogue of Antiquities, Delhi Museum.*
69. *Hargreaves. Excavations at Nal. Mem. Ar. S. I.*

M. S. Vats has pointed out that the two strata of the Harappa Cemetery are not separated by a long interval. Both may even be more or less contemporary. There is cultural though not ethnic continuity throughout from the Harappa times as proved by offering dishes, red-ware, small vases like carinated pots, round water pots, the *lota* and the deer and peacock motives. Guha thinks that there is a considerable gap separating the jar burials which belonged to a small low headed people like the present aborigines of India. The Harappa remains demonstrate the presence of non-Armenoid and probably also of the Armenoid-Alpine race in the Indus Valley. In the cemetery stratum II and Harappa there is racial continuity of the tall large headed dolichocephalic people with long faces and prominent noses as of Mohenjo Daro I, Al-Ubaid, Kish "massive," and pre-dynastic Kawamil skulls of Upper Egypt. Mackay points out that the Mohenjo Daro type A. (big-brained, large-headed, with high cranial vaults, massive prominent supra-orbital ridges and enormous development of the post auricular direction) does not represent the present people of the Indus Valley. Keith thinks that these people are different from the main body of the dolichocranial skulls but not Proto-Australoid as they are connected with the Sumerian and Caucasian. They may be termed Caucasie. The earlier race is broad nosed as at Al-Ubaid and is called by Friederichs and Müller Weddell, though there is no connection with Vedas. Further they distinguish four ethnic elements—Weddell, Hamitic, Mongoloid and Armenian as in Mesopotamia, (*Anthropos*, Vol. 28, p. 383-406). Type B resembling the present Indus people, represents according to Guha the so-called Mediterranean race, which though physically weaker, was intellectually superior and probably formed the ruling class. This is merely an unproved conjecture.

We shall now study the Vedic funeral customs in the light of the Atharva Veda and demonstrate first, that the Aryans observed not merely cremation but various other methods of disposing off the dead, and secondly, that the evidence of the Indus funerary customs completely proves the Aryan (or predominantly so) character of the civilisation.

Atharva (XII-3) shows that cremation itself is the supreme sacrifice. Sahagamana is probably alluded to in XII-3-2. "Let the Mithunā arise from what is cooked" (pakva) i.e. the charred bones. Atharva (XVIII-2-34 and 35) refers to the various methods.

The buried, the scattered (*vap*), the burned, and they that are set up (*uddhitō*)—let all these Pitrs eat the oblation.

The commentator explains *parōptah-dūradēśe kāṣṭha vij parityuktih*. Āpastambī (I-8-7) has ये गमे मत्तुः पाणाः उद्धाताः निष्काताः. Here burial, scattering of bones, cremation, exposure on an elevated structure or perhaps buried in a sitting posture are alluded to. "Let the *aguidagdha* and *anaguidagdhaḥ* revel on śraddha in heaven". This shows that both cremation and other methods were considered equally orthodox. Atharva (XVIII-3-70) has "Give back, O forest tree, him who is deposited here within thee". Whitney takes this as a possible allusion to burial in the hollow of trees, though it may also refer to the jar of bones deposited at the foot of a tree. The Byhad Dēvatā (V-73-78) says that Saptavadhri, the priest of Aśvamedha of the Bharata clan was placed in a tree trunk and was rescued by the Aśvins.

In the Śatapatha (XIII-8-2-1) it is said that the Devas had open cemeteries, whereas the Asuras had enclosed cemeteries and hid the corpse in an urn or tub (*cāmū*). Taittirīya Samhita (III-3-8) says अग्निर्वाच यत् इयं यतो कुसोदम्. Probably this refers to cremation and earth-mounds like stūpas erected over the bones. The stūpas are constructed on the model of a hair-knot. (*Vīśvākṛstūpōśi* in the Taittirīya Samhita.)

The *prayoga* of the Atharvan funeral mantras seems to be directed only to cremation, interment of bones and *pindapitṛyajña*. The mantras are not arranged strictly according to the procedure. But we can reconstruct the ritual according to the directions given by Kauñika, Kōśava and others. It should be noted that generally the mantras occur in the tenth Mandala of the R̄gveda and hence the method of the R̄gvedic times was more or less the same.

Atharva (XVIII-2-19) implies that the man about to die was placed on a bed of *darbha* grass; the body was laid on a cart for transportation (18-1-54) or on a litter (18-2-48) according to Kausika. Two bulls or men were yoked to draw the cart (18-1-56). On the way the body is placed and raised up three times (18-3-8); the fire is carried at the head of the procession (18-3-7). Before handling the body, Kausika says (18-3-55), a prayer is offered to Agni to free the man from the bite of Śakuna, serpent and *śvāpada*. Kāśīva says that in the case of a man bitten by a crow, ant etc. and wounded, the wounded place is first burned with fire. The place of cremation is sprinkled with holy water to drive out all creatures and demons. The body is taken to the pile (I. 18-1-55, 61). Oblations are offered to the fires when preparing the body for cremation. "Death is the kind messenger of Yama" (18-2-27). The pyre piled up (18-1-44). A new cloth (*tarpya* 18-4-31) for the body (18-2-57), the body was formerly covered up (18-3-30). "Do I set thee in *svadhā*?" Kausika says that the body was fixed on the pile but it is forbidden by Uparibabhrava. The *Ida* bowl is placed on the head on the pile with the other sacrificial implements possessed by the dead man to be burned (18-3-53). "The bowl that Atharvan bore filled up to Indra." The staff from the hand of a Brāhmaṇa, the bow from a Kṣatriya and a māṇi or goad (*pratōda*) from Vaisyn are taken off (18-2-54). Rgveda mantra is addressed to kṣatriya only, the Atharva to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the Taittiriya Āranyak (VI-1-3) mentions Vaisyas also. The Yajamāna takes a gold piece of the dead man, and smearing it with ghee gives it to the eldest son who with it wipes the deceased's hand (18-4-56).

The *cara* dish filled with butter and honey is deposited at the head (18-3-70). An oblation is offered to Yama (18-2-13). "The goat is the share of Tapas" (Rg X-16-4). The *annutarāṇi* is a goat bound on the south, sacrificed and laid on the body to be burned (18-2-8). Two kidneys of the sacrificed animal are placed on the hands of the dead man for the "dogs" of Yama. "Run fast the four eyed two dogs of Samā?" (18-2-11). "Wrap about thee of kine a protection from the fire" (18-2-58; Rg X-16-7). The *annutarāṇi* is here a cow. The dead man's face is covered

with the omentum pierced with seven holes. On the chest of the dead an offering to Sarasvāti is made (18-3-25). The body is placed supine (18-4-14). Sarasvāti is invoked in Pitṛmādha (18-1-41-43).

The pyre is lighted. Yama hōma is performed (18-1-49). Sometimes the youngest son lights the fire (18-2-4). The goat⁷⁰ is asked to go to prepare the way.

Let them (Sōchi and ramhi?) collect after the goat as he goes.

What Dasyus have entered among the Pitrs like acquaintances, eating what is not sacrificed, who bear *parāpur* and *nīpur* (sthūla and stūksma bodies—commentary, enemies' houses and friends—Whitney) let Agni blast them.

Pass over the stream (aśvāvatt) and Rkṣaka (the Milky Way—Whitney).

Yama is beyond and Vivasvān below. Beyond that there is nothing whatsoever.

Agni and Sōma, send Pūṣan who shall carry by the goat travelled roads (*ajyāna/bh*) him that goes thither.

Whitney takes *anjyānārik* (leading straight to the goal) as correct, and as opposed to the roundabout route (*mahāpatha paryāna*). But the reference to Pūṣan implies goats (Bg. VI-55-6-4; 57-3; X-26-8).

Let the Anustarapi cow make the herdsman (gōpati) ascend to Svarga. (Atharva 18-3-4).

The Vaitarapi cow led to the pile is released (18-4-57). The bones are gathered after complete consumption. All the parts are to be burnt and nothing thrown down (18-4-12). Whitney quotes Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII-15-3).

70. The word *ajā* may be connected with the Greek word *aigēios*—of a goat. But it is suspected that the connection is late, the original Aigeios is of unknown meaning connected with the Aegean civilisation.

वथ यदप्येनानुत्कान्तपाणान् कूर्मेन (a bamboo splinter)
समासं व्यतिसंदहेत नैवेन त्रयः पितृहासीति ॥

The fire is extinguished (18-3-6). Let there grow Kyāmbu, Sanda dūrvā and Vyalkasā. Rigveda (X-16-13) has kiyāmbu and paka dūrvā. On the second day a cow (whose calf is dead—*abhi vānyas vatsā*) is milked on the place of cremation and an oblation is made on its back.

The bones are gathered bending the knee sitting down on the right. The performer approaches from the west. The bones are collected bit by bit (ghāsa). "Let nothing of thee be left here."

"Go to the Sun with the eye" etc. (Atharva 18-2-7). See fig. X-16-3.

सर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातगदाचां च गच्छ पृथ्वीं च धर्मणा ।
आपोवागच्छ यदि तत्र ते दित्यं ओषधीषु प्रतितिष्ठा सरीरैः ॥

Also Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (V-13).

अस्य पुरुषस्य मृतस्याभिः वागप्येति वाते प्राणाश्चक्षुरादित्यं
मनश्चन्द्रं दिशः अत्रैः पृथ्वीं शरीरं आकाशमात्रा ओषधा
र्लमानि वनस्पतोन्केशा वाप्तु लोहितं च रेतश्चनिधीयते ॥

The bones are gathered and arranged in the form of a human figure (18-3-25) on the place of cremation. The women go three times round the relics of the funeral pyre in apradakṣīga, with disheveled hair and beating the thigh.

"They overpass defilement (riptra) wiping it off on the metal bowl (? kasya)"—(18-3-17.) The commentary takes kasya to be derived from kikasa, and to mean a cemetery, from vertebrae (kikasa). Caland refers to *dhuvana* (fanning the relics) as part of *nidhāna* (depositing). An empty pot (*rikta kumbha*) is set down and beaten with an old shoe. The commentary says that one breaks an empty jar (*rikta kalaśa*) on the night of the day of cremation i.e. earlier than *nidhāna*. In any case Whitney thinks kasya to be (kamsya ?) kalaśa. Offerings are made to Yama. The bones are sprinkled with milk from bunches of grass or plants. They are placed

in a pot, sprinkled with a pot with hundred holes (*śātachhidra*) or thousand holes (*sahasra chhidra pātra*). A temporary hut is constructed (*vimita*) in preparation for interment and gruel, rice, flesh, honey and ghee are offered (8-4-42). Oblations to Sarasvati (18-4-45-47). Apūpas (cakes) are offered to the figure made of bones—two dishes at the head, eight more in eight directions in Pradakshepa order, the eleventh in the centre with a dish of water. Ghee, boiled flesh, milk, curds, honey, mixed grains are offered.

Many plants (*sarvouṣṇḍhi*) are placed in the jar. The jar is deposited in a trench at the foot of a tree (Vanaspati or Vṛkṣa—*Sayana*—*pāṭikā*: box; Whitney—Kophinos).

Let not the tree oppress thee nor the earth (18-2-25).

It is removed from the root of the tree (commentary—provided it is so deposited).

Give back O forest tree, who is deposited here within thee (18-3-70).

The earth is piled up. "The *kassambu* (piling ?) is completed. Look down at it," the relatives and all are asked to look at the deposit in the trench (mound?). The place is to be marked off by an odd number of *satākas* and *iṣṭakas* and patted well. The mound over the jar is perhaps meant, not quite knee-high (अस्तिसंरक्षणात् अधोजानुः).

Assisters cover a *karkutsala*, so, earth! cover him. Interment is with a clod (*īoga*) of earth for each joint (18-3-52). Whitney thinks the Īśopaniṣad (V. 15-16) refers to covering the bones with earth.

हिरण्यं पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।
 तत्वं पूष्टपावृणु सत्यधर्माय हृष्टे ॥
 पृष्ठेकर्णेयमसूर्यं प्राजापत्यव्याहरश्मीन् समूहतेजः ।
 यते रूपे कल्याणतमं तते पश्यामि योऽसावसौ पुरुषस्तोहमसि ॥

Atharva (18-2-51) says "No other place than this is found for him". "I cover thee excellently with the garment of Mother Earth".

Then the *pinda pitṛ yajña* is performed in a hole in the ground (18-1-40 *garta sadam*,⁷¹ =*īmaśāna sancaya*). Oblations are made to this fire.

Watery is the lowest heaven (divi); full of stars? (plumati) is called the midmost; the third is the Pradiva of the Fathers (18-2-48).

The eldest son pours water on the attendants. All rinse the mouth and take a bath. Then comes *sapindikarasa* (putting together the three rice balls on the barhis).

These hymns make no reference to *śīlā snāna* and to the final disposal of the relics in some sacred stream. These practices of modern Brāhmaṇas may be later developments due to Purāṇic (*c.f.* Garuḍapurāṇa) conceptions of various hells, re-birth, Vaikuṇṭha etc. The R̥gvedic hymns seem to contemplate only post cremation urn burial.⁷² But throwing the relics into a stream may be also an early practice since in the Harappa urns very few human remains have been found. Otherwise the paintings on the urns seem to demonstrate the Vedic conceptions. M. S. Vats has pointed out that the goat was expected to protect the man from too much heat. He also thinks that the pictures refer to the Vaitarāṇi and Anustarāṇi cows. The plants, fish, water birds, rayed orbs figured on the pottery imply according to him the various elements to which the various parts and faculties were supposed to go. Among the birds the Vāyasa represents Vāyu and the pr̥tas are supposed to be in the form of mind and wind (*mānasī vāyavīrūpiṇa*). The hound chasing a bull may be the dog of Yama.

But no explanation has yet been offered for the peculiar idea that the *suksma īśvara* resides within the body of the peacock. I think that since in the funeral mantras there are frequent

71. The *Nirukta* (III-5) explains *Garta* as a pillar in the assembly hall of the gamblers. A woman of the south without help ascends the pillar for wealth. (I-24-7), \sqrt{gr} (true). Transactions made under the pillar are binding. \sqrt{grv} =to heap, raise (a mound); a chariot. \sqrt{gr} (to praise) a praised vehicle. Rudra is *garta sada*. Perhaps the linga is a form of this funeral pillar or mound.

72. See further—Note in Appendix and References.

references to Sarasvāti, that Goddess is represented by her vāhana, a peacock, otherwise it is not possible to explain the appropriateness of offering an oblation to Sarasvāti on the chest of the dead man on the funeral pyre (18.1.41-42-43), and again in gathering the relics (18.4.45, 46, 47). In fact we may conjecture that the funeral urn containing the relics was in the shape of the joined heads and necks of the peacocks—a pattern we find on the funeral pottery and which perhaps gave the symbol =U= to the Indus script.

The custom of erecting mounds over the relics continued down to historical times. In South India *pallis* are supposed to be temples erected over such remains. Usually when a sannyāsin is interred a bṛndāvāna or a śivalinga is established over the grave. Among the Dēvāngas it is the custom to bury the dead in a sitting posture and a house is erected over the grave for worship. Kurubas erect Pūndu *kūjis* over the graves. The Kurumbas have a Sāvu *mane* (house of the dead—a cromlech) wherein a bone from the pyre is placed. Young children among all castes are of course buried. The fact that many funerary jars were found buried beneath the houses and under the lanes in Harappa may show, not house burials as in the West, but that the relics being purified were no longer considered harmful to the living. Partial cremation and water disposal must also have been common though complete incineration is enjoined in the Atharva. The three main methods of disposing off the dead—complete cremation with the relics thrown into river, flexed and fully stretched burials, and Urn burials may be taken to represent the practices of different castes in the society dominated by a common and continuous civilisation but with varying funeral rituals.

(To be concluded.)

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THE MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN ARMY (SENAI): THEIR ASSEMBLY AND ITS FUNCTIONS*

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WE see from the foregoing that the *Sabhā* of the military quarter was variously known as *Kaikkōtsēnāpatigal*, *Sēnaiyar*, *Sēnāpatigal*, *Mūgrukai Mahāsēnai*,¹⁵¹ *Perumpaṭaiyār*,¹⁵² *Mugrēpādai*,¹⁵³ and *Valaṅgai Māsēnai*. The *Sabhā* of the *Sēnāchēri* was brought into existence for receiving the gifts and endowments made by the residents of the *sēri*; for receiving the gold and land etc. for such purposes for the regular carrying out of the desires of the donees or the objects of the donations or endowments; and for the receipt and execution of all amenities and adjustments that were necessary on behalf of the residents of the *sēri*. They received and sold lands and issued deeds for the sales effected by them. They sold lands to private persons who gave gifts to their temples.¹⁵⁴ The lands sold by them were also made free of taxes. Besides, the terms and phrases¹⁵⁵ like *emmilaitindu*, *vilaipporu*, *ivar pakkal kondu*, *virru vilaippramāṇam porcikkudutti*, *virrukkuudutta innitattukku iduve vilai vōlaiyum iduve poru*, *kela-vōlaiyum*, *vilaikkura virru*, *poruṭagakkondu*, and *emmil ikainda poru* *ellām kaiyile arakkondu*, which are found in the records which mention them and their transactions are significant. They indicate beyond doubt that they were regularly constituted bodies like the *Sabha*, *Ur* etc. and that they must have had their

* Continued from Vol. XXXII, No. 3, p. 303.

151. No. 1396 of S. I. I. Vol. IV; No. 342/16; 1400 of S. I. I. Vol. IV; No. 753 of S. I. I. Vol. V; No. 120 of 1905.

152. No. 242 of 1933; No. 433 of 1916.

153. No. 241 of 1933. See also No. 229 of 1933; Mumusuri-dandas.

154. Purchase of lands by private persons from the body called *Mugrēpādai* are mentioned in No. 241 of 1933, A. R. 1933.

155. For these terms in Tamil see S. I. I. (Texts) published volumes. The above extracts contain only translations of these terms.

own set rules of conduct as had all the local administrative institutions. Else it is inexplicable how they came to an agreement among themselves, received gifts in gold and kind, and conducted the endowments and other transactions to the entire satisfaction of the donees. There is absolutely no ground to doubt the fact that there must have been some kind of regulations to guide the people in their elections and the assembly in discharging its grave functions.¹⁵⁶ The last mentioned record (III) refers to the body by the term *Perumpadaiyār* and shows that it was composed of representatives from the several regiments or battalions of the army, and all the extracts given above disclose that the assembly had the same corporate existence and status as the *Sabha*s of other villages. In the third extract, the number of representatives were eight from eight regiments. From another record it is clear that besides these functions they managed also the affairs of the military cantonment,¹⁵⁷ and of the temple situated in their quarter. Some of the specific Tamil words that are used in the records of their transactions have been noted above. The fact that the military accountant *Paṭaik-kapakku* figures as the scribe of one of their records is important. The existence of a *Paṭaikkalakkaṇṭa*,¹⁵⁸ for the body of *Perumpadaiyār* (military assembly) is another evidence in support of the fact that the *Sabha* of the army was regularly constituted. *Paṭaik-kalakkaṇṭa* or the military accountant was the accountant to the military assembly, as the *Sabhaikkanakkaṇṭa*,¹⁵⁹ *Nāṭukkannakkaṇṭa*,¹⁶⁰ *Nagarakkalakkaṇṭa*,¹⁶¹ and *Urkkalakkaṇṭa*,¹⁶² were respectively accountants to the administrative bodies *Sabha*, *Nādu*, *Nagara* and *Ur-*

156. If they were not regularly constituted bodies with workable procedures and formulated principles, it is impossible to imagine that the donors would have left with them their gifts of various descriptions, and would have returned to their homes with the sheer satisfaction that their intended aims for which they made their gifts would be carried out without default.

157. No. 242 of 1933.

158. *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that an accountant called *Sēṭūpaitiyākkaṇṭakku* is mentioned in No. 572 of 1917.

159. Nos. 438, 729, 744 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

160. No. 22 of S. I. I. Vol. VII. and 409 of Vol. VIII.

161. Nos. 303, 439 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

162. Nos. 977, 986, 1003 of S. I. I. Vol. V; 49/VI, 204, 409/VIII; 43, 44, 45, 48, 104 of VII. A *jivita* to him is mentioned in No. 396/IV.

In the above instances the lands were sold as Candēśvaravilai or Candēśvarapperuvilai. There are other instances of lands having been sold as Sēgāpatipperuvilai.¹⁶³ From the nature of the transactions of some of the records it appears that lands were held on military tenure by contingents of armies, by Sēgāpatis etc. The following instances will bear out this conclusion. No. 194 of 1926 belongs to the time of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājendra Cōla III, and registers the agreement given by Periyāl Alagiya-perumā alias Sōlagangān of Paiyūr in Paiyūrkōttam of Jayangondā-sōlāmaṇḍalam alias Tōḍaimaṇḍalam, to levy taxes at certain fixed rates on the lands held by him as *paṭai-pāggū* (military tenure). No. 196 of the same year's collection registers a Sarvamānya grant of land, for keeping watch over the villages Madukkūr, Vēppangujam and Muttakkuruchchi, in the troublous times following Kōṣērirāja's flight from Trichinopoly in a certain year. There are numerous other instances where lands are said to have been granted as *paṭai-pāggū*.

The body of Sēgai also joined with other assemblies and performed certain common functions. An instance of their conjoint action is noticed in their undertaking to carry out the object for which a gift was made, on behalf of another body. On a reference to the abstract of contents given above of No. 503 of S. I. I. Vol. V. (I), it will be observed that the latter part of the document is an undertaking by the body Sēgai, on behalf of the Padipādāmūla Patṭudaiya Pañcācāryas, whose sale of land to the donor to enable him to

163. (a) S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 504 mentions as a boundary the Nandavāgam (flower garden) obtained as a Sēgāpatipperuvilai by a certain Ilaiya Triutāvaraīśvar and others.

I. 10. Vaṭavoluṭu Ilaiya Tirutāvaraī.

II. dāśar-u]litta Śri Sēgāpatipperuvilai[kondu] Tirunanda - vaṭattukku mēṅku.

(b) S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 454.

II. 23-4. Inda dharmam Acandrākshāḥ[iyāga] nadakkumpadikku Śri Sēgāpatipperuvilai[yāga]-kkudumōm.

(c) S. I. I. Vol. IV. No. 160.

Nāyanāl Alagapperumālakku Śri Sēgāpatipperuvilai[yāga] Nilavilip- pramāṇam paṇṇikkuduttōm.

make his endowment, is detailed in the first half of the same record. The body, Sēgai, received the two *kaLanju* of gold and undertook to feed the members of the Srikōyil of the place, once in a month, without fail, as long as the Sun and Moon endure, and they shared the responsibility on the condition that they were not to show *igai*, *echchēgu*, *veṭṭi*, *ñegukkula* and all others on the said $\frac{1}{2}$ vāli and 3 mā of land sold to the donor.

From a record from Kudumiya&malai,¹⁶⁴ dated in the Thirty-sixth year of Kulōttunga I, it is learnt that the blameless five hundred men constituting the army of the district called Rattapādikōdaśōjavala-nādu, were appointed to supervise an arrangement, the business of which was the supply of areca nuts to the temple. In other records it is found that the different kinds of Vēlaikkāra regiments were in the charge of the management of minor shrines and had also to provide for the requirements of them. Others took money from the temple on interest.

The above mentioned were not the only ways by which the Sēgai (military assembly) mingled and worked conjointly with other assemblies. Persons from Sēgaicēri are reported to have been selected, to test the fineness of gold that was current in a village.¹⁶⁵ The record referring to the same, registers "that a standing order was made by the assembly of Utaramōru Caturvēdimangalam fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them, and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work"¹⁶⁶. Of the nine persons who were selected by the pot-ticket system, two were chosen from the army. It is also interesting to note that the regulation seems to state when that the selected persons were performing their appointed task of testing gold, they were to be paid monthly $7\frac{1}{2}$ *maṇjādi* of gold, perhaps as remuneration for their work.¹⁶⁷ The record adds that they were

164. No. 353 of 1904.

165. No. 205 of S. I. I. Vol. VI. See for an edition of the inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII, p. 145.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ibid.*

subordinate to the Tank Committee. Another instance of payment for work done by a person from the quarter of the army can be cited. A record gives out that a girl (*nakkaṭi*) Anandam, who came from the sixty-second house in the Sēgumugam of Nāgapatṭipām, was allowed to receive a share which consisted of 1 *vālī* of land with a nett yield of one hundred *kalams* of paddy, for her services (*pasi*) in the temple of Rājāśvāri.¹⁶⁸ Further, we have instances of Sēgāpatis who were the heads of their quarters, being sent by royal order to inspect and check the accounts etc. of temples, and among such occasions embezzlements or misappropriations of gold, silver etc. were detected.¹⁶⁹

Another of the important functions of the military associations, which counted among their members, many soldiers worthy on account of the power of their arms, was the protection of the wealth of the country, especially the temple and its treasury. From the evidence of numerous inscriptions, it is clear that the temples which lay scattered all over the country, had in them big treasures which were known as Pāṇḍārams or Karuvēlams, where much wealth and gold were usually deposited. The wealth of the temple treasury was immense on account of the several images, ornaments, gifts and presents from kings and chiefs, of various descriptions which were all mainly of gold, silver and precious stones of the highest value, that were deposited in it. Besides these, huge quantities of paddy and other materials were in the custody of the managers of the temple and its treasury. In fact the numerous inscriptions are but simple records of the many endowments of variegated nature, gifts of paddy, gold, and animals like cows, sheep etc. that were made from time to time. From what has been said above it will be apparent that the wealth of the temple was huge and immeasurable and as such it required the best of protection in the country. Besides, as we have already shown, many kinds of business transactions were conducted within the precincts of the temple. Again, it was a busy centre on account of the many festivals and important events all through the year. That the best

168. S. I. I. Vol. II. Pt. III. 66, 1, 247.

169. A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1915. p. 98

protection was given to the temple is evident from the fact that the tried and trusted regiments of the realm, and the military assemblies, are found attached to the temples. They not only safeguarded the temple, but as we have seen above engaged themselves in other forms of activities also, the nature of which have been detailed already. The following instances will illustrate the fact that the temple was well guarded.

- (a) An inscription from Tiruvallikavaram¹⁷⁰ registers the various victories gained by the Cōla army called *Māngukai Mahāsēnai* and records that the temple at Tiruvallikavaram, its treasury, and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the army.
- (b) A Śermadēvi record¹⁷¹ of the twenty-sixth year of a certain Kulottunga, contains a regulation or Dharma which states that the four boundaries of Tirumukkalvattam which was consecrated to the Paramasvāmigal of Abhayāsthāga in Śribhaktavrayam, the flower garden, the persons connected with the temple, things in use as *parikkalam*, *parichchinnam*, *āḍai*, *kodi*, *ūbharaṇam* etc. were under the protection of the *Paṭaipiditta Pallāyiravar* of the *Māngukai Mahāsēnaiyār*. It adds further that those who trespass or act against this Dharma, will be punished and that those who honour the law will be honoured by them with elephant and garland.
- (c) A *Vallikuttu inscription*,¹⁷² states that the temple shall be under the protection of *Paṭaipiditta Pallāyiravar*.
- (d) An inscription from Pattamadai records that the temple of Āiyiratteūma-viyyagar-emberumē¹⁷³ was placed under the protection of *Māngukaiyār*.¹⁷⁴
- (e) It is stated in a record,¹⁷⁴ that the man who does anything against the gift of land (Dharma) would be condemned as

170. No. 120 of 1905.

171. No. 733 of S. I. L. Vol. V.

172. No. 616 of 1917.

173. No. 542 of 1916.

174. No. 1406 of S. I. L. Vol. IV.

having destroyed the three *kṣayil* (Buddhist) and to have escaped from the *Māngukaiyar*, meaning the escape from the torture of the safeguarding body of militia men.

(f) A record from Ceylon,¹⁷⁵ is interesting for it states that the great temple of the Tooth relic was declared to be under the protection of *Mēgrukai Tiruvēlaikkūrər*, by the Royal Preceptor when he was seated along with the ministers of the king. The *Vēlaikkāras* gave the temple the new name *Mēguksi Tiruvēlaikkāras Daladāyappērum-palli*—meaning the great temple of the Tooth relic of *Mēguksi Vēlaikkāras*. In order to make it remain as their charity and under their protection, one servant and one *ekā* of land (for his maintenance), were assigned from each regiment, and the body bound themselves to protect the temple, its servants and treasures etc. The several groups that constituted the *Vēlaikkāras* signed the agreement.

Lastly it remains to be mentioned that in inscriptions the *dīnāpti* was very often the commander of the military forces¹⁷⁶ *Sēnādhipati*,¹⁷⁷ or *Balādhikrita*,¹⁷⁸ and sometimes the king's private secretary *Rahatika*.¹⁷⁹ In Ceylon grants, the so-called ancestors of the *dūtakas* are, very often, either military officers or the chief secretary who is called *Mahalō* and occasionally the Royal treasurer *Kudasalanāvan*.¹⁸⁰ Two military officers took part in the proclamation of the edict.¹⁸¹ It is worthy to note in this connection, that

175. No. 1396 of S. I. I. Vol. IV.

176. In this connection it is interesting to note that *Hastikīśa* and *Virakōśa* appear to have been offices, and *Hastiyadyakṣa* was perhaps similar to the office of *Hastikōśa*. The officials figure in many records and the execution and protection of the grants were entrusted to them. See Gōdāvari plates of Rāja Prithvīmīla J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI, p. 144. Palōmbūra grant of Mādhavavarman I. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 1-17ff.

177. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII, p. 295.

178. Bühler Indische Palaeographie 95.

179. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 21.

180. Ep. Zey. Vol. III, p. 110.

181. *Ibid.* p. 100.

in the Tamil inscriptions, in addition to their signatures as ஸ்ரீபதி, the clauses like '*idu naam Sēnāpadikkum okkum*',¹⁸² are found added.

RESUMÉ

In the above pages, we have followed the clear testimony of literature and epigraphy and come to the conclusion that the ancient South Indian army was composed of war-chariots, elephantry, cavalry and infantry; that as days progressed, war-chariots were out of use and came to be associated with the Royal insignia of honour; that the position and rank of *Sēnāpati* was one of the highest in the kingdom; that they were governors of territorial units and chiefs of divisions of the country; that mercenary troops called *Vēlaikkaras* were largely prevalent in South India and Ceylon; that owing to the lack of Royal favour in the form of *Jivitas* and *Vrittis*, or on account of some similar cause, they degenerated into a multitude of castes of which *Padayāchi*, *Arasavalli*, *Gaupdas*, etc. are modern representatives; that local cantonments and garrisons existed; and that recruitment to the army was never restricted on communal grounds. Further we have learnt that the army had a geographical standing or special quarter which was called *Sēgaichchēri*; that the Commissariat department was also functioning with their commercial quarters which were known as *Sēgaiyaṅgāḍi*; and that it looked after the supply of food and the other needs of the army whether it was stationed in its unit or while on its march. From Literary sources, we have seen that there were assemblies of bodies like *Sēgaipperūṅganī* or *Perungapichchaṅgam* which worked for the army; that they must have been assemblies necessarily got up by order, with set rules of conduct and formulated principles and procedures. We have made out from a study of selected epigraphical references that the *Sēgaichchēris* or the quarters of the armies had assemblies of their own which were called variously as *Perumpaṭaiyār*, *Sēṇaiyār*, *Mūṅgukai-Mēṅgaiyār*, etc. that from an examination of the nature of the transactions, the form of procedures adopted, and the numerous specific terms and phrases that are found employed in the records

^{182.} No. 750 of S. I. I. Vol. V.

which give them out, it is clear that the Sabha of the quarter of the army was a regularly constituted body which conducted all its transactions, receiving endowments made to temples, undertaking to execute the requirements intended to be provided for by the donors, effecting sale of lands etc.; and that the assemblies and the regiments under them were entrusted with the protection of the temple and the treasury. We have also seen that very often the Sāṇapati was *āyūpti* of the grants; that though the persons were members of the contingents of armies, whose life-business was to fight for the country, yet they took active interest in all matters of public-life; that instances of their keen interest are forth-coming and that Sāṇapatis were sent by kings to temples for purposes of supervision, inspection of accounts and the various duties of the temple officials. We have also noted that the members who formed themselves into the assembly (Sāṇai) were entitled Araiyars and Nāḍalvārs and were each one of them representatives of regiments; that the assemblies of the military quarter also acted conjointly with the other local administrative bodies: that persons from their quarter were selected to serve under other committees on special work like the testing of the correctness or purity of gold current in a village; and that on such occasions their emoluments were fixed. In fine, we have seen that the military assembly was one among the ancient administrative bodies like Sabha, Ur, Nāḍu etc. having the same corporate existence, and consisting of a head, a scribe and an accountant, with the other minor requisites of regularly constituted bodies.

(Concluded)

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SHAKESPEARE AND VEDA-VYASA

(Two Pan-portraits)

BY RAO SAHIB N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

Madalasa and Shakespeare's Hermione

THERE is a beautiful and soul-stirring episode in the Märkandeys Purāṇa, which relates the romantic story of Prince Rtadhvaja and his wife Madalasa, the daughter of the Gandharva Viévāyasu. Rtadhvaja, the son of King Satrujit of the Solar Race, was a virtuous prince who always spent his time in the company of good and virtuous young people of his age and in studying sacred literature and doing service to the people of the kingdom. The sage Gālava was afflicted by a Rākṣasa, Pātālaketu, son of Vajraketu. One day, while he was looking at the sky in a mood of despair, he saw a horse coming down from the sky. This horse, which was capable of taking its rider anywhere at will, was sent by Sūrya to Gālava with instruction that this horse called Kuvalāśva, as it could move round the world at will, should be ridden by Rtadhvaja for the end of the Rākṣasa. The sage took it to Satrujit, told him the story of the horse and took the prince on the horse to his Āśrama.

One day, Pātālaketu visited the Āśrama as a pig and afflicted all the people in the Āśrama. Rtadhvaja mounted the horse and attacked the pig. It gave the slip and fled. The prince pursued the pig. The pig entered an underground hole and disappeared. The prince went down through the passage on the horse. Soon he was in Pātāla and saw there bright light and a fine mansion. There he saw a beautiful maiden, who ran upstairs, as soon as she saw a human being. The prince also went up and saw the maiden seated on a cot. She got up and showed respect to him. But she spoke not a word. Both felt love for each other. The maiden could not think of him, as she was in the possession of the Rākṣasa, who had brought her away from her father's

garden, while she was there with her maid Kundala. Kundala too was with the Gandharva maiden Madālasa. She swooned in love. The maid Kundala came up briskly, fanned the maiden and spoke to the prince. Only on the previous day Surabhi, a virtuous lady, had, during her pilgrimage, visited the mansion and said that, on the next day, Madālasa would be married by a prince, who would kill the Rākṣasas and relieve her. When Madālasa came to know that Rādhvaja had fulfilled that very purpose, she was duly married to Rādhvaja by Tumbura, the priest of the Gandharvas. Rādhvaja killed the Rākṣasas and went to his city with Madālasa. Kundala advised both about the duties (Dharma) of family life and went off for penance.¹

Satrūjīt asked his son to go round the kingdom everyday on his horse and see how people were progressing. In his rounds, one day, he saw a Muni on the banks of the Yamuna. He was neither a Brahmin nor a Muni, but Tālaketu, the brother of Pāṭalaketu, who had been waiting for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance against Rādhvaja, who had killed his brother Pāṭalaketu. Pretending to the good prince that he thought of performing a sacrifice and was in need of money for dākṣina, he took from the unsuspecting prince his fine and costly neck-ornament. He then asked the prince to stay in the Āśrama until he went to Varuna and came back. The prince stayed there with his horse. The Muni entered the river at one and rose at another place and straight went to the palace of Madālasa and told her that her husband had been killed while fighting against a band of Rākṣasas near his very Āśrama. He said Rādhvaja had given him that neck-ornament. A Rākṣasa had taken away the horse too. He presented the ornament to Madālasa and disappeared. At once Madālasi, who loved her

1. *The Winter's Tale* V, iii, 130-135.

(Paulina) " Go together,
You precious winners all ; your exultation,
Partake impart to every one. I, an old turtle,
Will wing me to some wither'd bough and there
My mate, that's never to be found again,
Lament till I am lost."

husband virtuously, fell down and died.² Satrujit and his queen felt glad that the prince had died valorously fighting against the Rākṣasas and that Madālasa had, like a true wife, died the moment she heard of the demise of her husband. The citizens were all sorry for the double mishap to the royal family. The obsequies were duly performed.

Taketu appeared before Rādhvaja and gave him leave to go home. He mounted his horse and reached the city. He was received with pleasure and wonder. He learnt the whole story from his father. He took courage under extreme affliction and resolved not to marry during his life. While he did all duties carefully, he lived in a state of subdued grief.

He had two close friends, who were the sons of the nāga chief Aśvatara. They used to stay everyday as Brahmin lads with Rādhvaja and be at home in the nether region during nights. One day their father asked them about their daily sojourn to the human world and learnt the story and the glory of Rādhvaja. They told him the story of Rādhvaja's adventures, his winning the Gandharva maiden Madālasa and his losing her by the mischief of the Rākṣasa. Aśvatara thought he should do a piece of good service to Rādhvaja. He went to Himalaya, meditated on Goddess Sarasvatī and obtained the boon of being, with his brother Kambala, master of music. Both the brothers then went to Kailāsa and sang the glory of Mahādeva. Mahādeva asked Aśvatara what he wanted. He said that he and his brother should become masters of the science of music and that Madālasa should at once be born as his daughter exactly as she was at the time of her death and with the memory of her life before death. Mahādeva granted the boon and told Aśvatara that, to get back Madālasa to life, he should perform a Sāddha and eat the middle of the three pindas, placed down by him in honour of the dead. Aśvatara did so and Madālasa came out of the middle one of his five hoods. He was glad; and she was entrusted to a maid to be kept in his harem without any one's

2. Hermia swoons during the trial, on hearing of the sudden death of her son. (W. T. III. ii. 147) Paulina takes her away and tells the king that she is dead.

knowledge. Even his sons did not know about the miracle performed by Aśvatara.³

One day he asked his sons to invite Rādhvaja to the nāgaloka.⁴ They did so and when Rādhvaja visited the nāgaloka, Aśvatara showed all honour and hospitality to the prince and asked him to take anything from his nether-region. The prince wanted nothing and he declared he was quite happy in every way under his father's roof. He would not give out his pining grief for his wife. But the lads told their father that he was secretly brooding over the death of his dear wife at a time when he was not with her and by the mischief of the Rākṣasa. Then Aśvatara was told by the sons that they could do a bit of good service to the prince, if he could use his spiritual powers and show his dead wife once to Rādhvaja.

Then Aśvatara told them that he could produce the princess to be seen by the prince, but he should not exhibit mortal love for her, for she was not among the living then.⁵ He agreed, but when, Madalasa was actually produced before the prince, he forgot his promise and even the law of decorum. He rushed towards her crying out his beloved's name. He was stopped by Aśvatara. The prince could not bear the strain and he fell senseless. Aśvatara relieved him from the *Moha* (delusion) and told him all that he had done for Rādhvaja to show the gratitude to the virtuous prince of himself and his sons. Rādhvaja took Madalasa with him, and with the leave of Aśvatara and his sons, rode off to his city on his wonderful horse, Kuvalāśva. He told his father all that had taken place and was happy again in his kingdom.

While reading this episode in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, one cannot but feel that the character of Madalasa in the episode is the ultimate basis of Shakespeare's *Hermione* in *The Winter's Tale*. The Winter's Tale was the last of Shakespeare's plays and surely it is the play that shows the internal development of the poet's

3. cf. The part of the Delphic Oracle in the *Winter's Tale*.

4. Note the change of scene from Sicily to Bohemia in "The Winter's Tale."

5. Paulina makes Hermione, a statue, "but newly fix'd' the colours not dry." (V. iii. 47)

spiritual nature.⁶ Unlike the other plays of Shakespeare it is neither a comedy nor a tragedy but a tragi-comedy. A student of Shakespeare who reads his early plays, comic, romantic and historical, and passes through his mature and soul-stirring tragedies, Macbeth, where the hero and the heroines are ruined by ambition; Hamlet, where the mentally overburdened prince sacrifices his soul and body at the altar of duty; Lear, where a sensitive father ruins himself for his sentimentality; and Othello, where the Moor, a misfit, though a gentleman, for a lady of a high and noble family, brought up in a tradition different from his own, ruins his and her life and feels, a moment too late, for his sin is relieved while he reads this beautiful tragi-comedy, which, as the last play of the poet, looks as if it was meant to teach us that it represents life as it really is, a great tragi-comedy, if we are spiritual, a comic-tragedy, if we look at life with a material eye. The tragedies are at first comic and at the end tragic, because the heroes lay too much store by the pleasures of this world. The Winter's Tale is of the opposite type and is spiritually valuable showing us the path to Eternal Peace through self-examination and timely repentance. The original of Shakespeare, the story of Pandosto by Greene, does not take us far in explaining or realising the spiritual background of the play of Shakespeare. Greene makes it undramatic and unspiritual. It becomes tragic under its own load of feeling. Shakespeare has woven the comic element into the tragic element in an exquisite manner. He must have got at the make up of the story of Madalasa in some form, at some time and through some source. That was the time when English adventurers were visiting India and getting faint cultural contacts with this vast Eastern continent of Spirituality?⁷

6. Introduction to "The Winter's Tale"—(The Irving Shakespeare). Arthur Symons says:—We close The Winter's Tale with a feeling that life is a good thing, worth living; that much trial, much mistake and error, may be endured to a happier issue, though the scars, perhaps, are not to be effaced. This end, on such a note, is indeed the mood in which Shakespeare took leave of life—in no weakly optimistic spirit, certainly, but with the air of one who has conquered fortune, not fallen under it—with a genial faith in the ultimate result of things.
7. The Portuguese poet Camoens, the author of the Epic Lusiad, took for his theme the discovery of India by the Portuguese. He served as a soldier in India for ten years from 1553. Shakespear's Winter's Tale was produced in 1610.

I shall now place in juxtaposition some points of contact between the two stories, so that the reader may form his own judgment.

MADĀLASA

The virtuous wife of Rādhvaja.

Lost through the mischief of the Rākṣasa, Pāṇiketu, who had lust for her. Restored to Rādhvaja through the spiritual power and the sense of gratitude of Aśvatara and his sons.

Mahadeva gave the Gandharva maiden back to life, to please Aśvatara and Rādhvaja.

Madālaśa was restored to life just as she was when she died, so that the prince might at once recognise her and take her with mutual remembrance. That is possible for Gods to do, not for a human being like the good Paulina.

Aśvatara laid down the condition that Rādhvaja should

HERMIONE

The beloved wife of King Leontes.

Imprisoned and ill-treated by the good king, under the influence of fell jealousy. It ruined Othello and Desdemona, but it saved the hero and the heroine here by the intervention of the superhuman labour of the good Paulina.

The Oracle at Delphi did foretell good for the king, who was struck with grief and repentance, after he had lost his good queen under the evil influence of jealousy 'the green-eyed monster'. (Othello III. iii. 166).

Paulina kept Hermione for sixteen years in hiding and when Leontes was shown the queen, she was sixteen years older than when she was dismissed by the king with hatred and passion.

One should read the most exquisite scene, in "The

MADĀLASA

not go near or touch Madālasa. When Rādhvaja was asked not to approach or touch or speak to Madālasa, he fell in a swoon, overcome with grief, born of love. Aśvatara told the story of the rebirth of Madālasa and handed her over to the prince.

HERMIONE

"Winter's Tale" to know the mind of the Master-Dramatist of England, who drew from any source but made the manner all his own. The action of Paulina is most artistic in the play. A Study of Act. V. Sc. iii. is necessary to appreciate the full-fledged dramatic art of Shakespeare. Paulina leads the good and the repentant king to recover Hermionè by slow stages telling the king that the statue of Hermionè, represents her, as she would be, if she had lived those sixteen years, is a dexterous suggestion to the king to expect to see his wife's form, sixteen years older than when he last parted from her. Greene calls this in Pandosto, the *Triumph of Time*.

Aśvatara said that he would use his Tapas or Maya to show Madālasa to Rādhvaja.

Paulina's words are suggestive:—

It is well.

It moves.

It lives.

There is an air comes from her.

MADĀLASA

HERMIONE

The ruddiness upon her lip is wet, (to prevent the king's hastily kissing her).

"I'll make the statue move indeed, descend, And take you by the hand: but then you'll think I am assisted by wicked powers."

Music is called and the queen is asked to descend and take the king by the hand. The king is reconciled and his doubt removed, he gets back his wife. Leontes and Polixenes are reconciled.

The son of his friend Polixenes, whom he suspected at first, now has been loving the daughter of Hermione, whom the king had ordered to be thrown away in the woods, taking her to be a shepherdess and the two are married. Paulina is rewarded with the hand of the truthful friend of Leontes, Camillo.

Thus in the drama, Shakespeare has wonderfully knit the tragedy into the comedy and exhibited the philosophic basis of life, that *Sukha* and *Duhkha* (Happiness and Grief) alternate in life and one should not be too glad in happiness or too moody in grief.

That is the great basis of our Hindu philosophy and in his most mature years Shakespeare too must have felt the force of that theory of life, which makes life balanced and peaceful, amidst the trials and the changing fortunes of life.

That Shakespeare should have received the story of Madālasa in some form is certain from the texture of *The Winter's Tale*, especially in its second part, and what Greene did not accomplish, Shakespeare accomplished, by making the superhuman side of life subserve the human part of it, so that the purpose of God may always be fulfilled in life, by making the human and the superhuman bases of life really one and continuous, at the bottom and at the top. The distinctions are all in the world, where we often act as if we cannot hear or do not hear the Divine Voice. The hand of God is seen in every action and movement of man, if only we could see. That is the fundamental truth underlying all the plays of Shakespeare and it is distinctly worked out in *The Winter's Tale*, as in the story of Madālasa, as related by Veda-Vyasa in the *Märkandeya Purāṇa*.

Note—That Shakespeare could have and should have known something of our literature is seen for example in "*As You Like It*," *Act. II. Sc. iii*, where Adam says to Orlando that his brother Oliver means to "burn the lodging" where he used to lie, and him "within it".

Who will not recollect the plot of *Duryodhana* to burn the Pāndavas, his cousins, whose virtue and glory he could not see without pain, in the house of lac at Varanāvata. There are such touches in the Plays of Shakespeare which show that the great Poet of England drew a bit of his spiritual inspiration from the great writings of the greatest of India's Rsis, Veda-Vyasa.

Hamlet and Pradyumna

We associate the Age of Shakespeare with three important characteristics, Euphuism, Romance and Pastoralism. These three are found in the romantic story of Madālasa, if one could compare the texture of the story with the spirit of the Age of Shakespeare.

The pedantry involved in the euphuistic style of some of the characteristic writers of the early Elizabethan Age, the spirit of

adventure and the love of novelty patent in the new ideas of literary form and structure in the age and the pastoral background of the literature of the age cannot all be explained only from the commonly given cause of the Renaissance in English literature, as the result of the dispersal of classical scholars and their literature from Greece and Rome after the fall of Constantinople. The classics of Greece and Rome were not unfamiliar to the English students at the Universities even before 1453. Even in the Norman age and the age of Chaucer, literary inspiration did arrive from other parts of the European continent with which England was in social, religious and political contact. We must, therefore, look for the new features of the renaissance of the adventurous age of Elizabeth in other quarters. It is not against probability in the history of literary taste and literary forms, if we attribute the new features to the contact of the European adventurers with Indian culture and civilisation, just at that very point of time, in the history of Europe.

There is a very fine parallel between *Shakespeare's Hamlet* and *Veda-Vyasa's Harivamśa*, which relates the life-story of Śri Kṛṣṇa, the greatest Hero-divinity of India. In *Harivamśa* II. 91-97, a very romantic episode is given of the way in which the Asura Vajranabha was destroyed by Śri Kṛṣṇa with the aid of his son *Pradyumna*. Indra devised the plan of creating love between Prabhavati, the daughter of Vajranabha and Pradyumna, the son of Śri Kṛṣṇa through the embassy of swans⁸. The king of the Asuras, Vajranabha was gradually inveigled into foolish faith in the credentials of the swans who became his story-tellers.

Śri Kṛṣṇa sent Pradyumna and a host of Yadava warriors to the city of Vajranabha in the disguise of players of purāṇic themes. The players, with the leave of the Asura, camped in a neighbouring village and gave their shows. They were later invited by the king to the palace to give shows. The descent of Ganga from svarga was shown with suitable music and dance. The curse of Nala-Kubara on Ravana for his *lust for Rambha*

8. That was how Nala and Damayanti loved each other at first. (*Bhārata—Vana Parva*).

was shown realistically. But the Asura could not see in it the secret love that had been growing between the king's daughter and Pradyumna. Through the swans, the *Prince of Dwaraka* and the daughter of Vajranabha were actually married within the palace of the Asura and yet he knew nothing. When matters became public, the Asura ordered Pradyumna to be killed. But Prabhavati herself helped Pradyumna with the weapons of war. A long fight ensued and Sri Kṛṣṇa also arrived and Vajranabha was killed and Pradyumna and Prabhavati went to Dwaraka in all glory. The romance of the story is exquisite.

In Shakespeare's Hamlet, the *Prince of Denmark* who is a great student of literature and a young man of fine literary taste requisitions a set of players to stage before King Claudius, his uncle, within the palace, a play improvised by Hamlet himself with a dumb-show preceding it, to find out how the king, guilty of the murder of Hamlet's father and unlawful marriage with his mother, would react to the play, so that he could test the veracity of the message of the ghost of his father to him. Being a man of a highly philosophic temperament and cultured taste, the Prince of Denmark would not do anything vile against the guilty uncle, though the latter ever hated Hamlet. In fact Hamlet even foregoes the love of Ophelia and is prepared to lay down his very life at the altar of duty and truth, or dharma and sathya, as we would call it. But he would do nothing in haste and would not kill Claudius, while he is praying to God, for he would go to Heaven, if he were killed then. This spirit of dharma is more Hindu than Christian. The inter-play in Hamlet and the dumb-show have their counterpart and sure suggestion in the story in the *Harivamśa*. The commentators are not able to find the exact purpose of Hamlet in devising two plots, the dumb-show and the inter-play. It is to make himself doubly sure of his aim. The dumb-show and the inter-play have their counter-part in the play and the Dance with Music in *Harivamśa*.

If one studies with a knowledge of both the English and the Sanskrit literatures, one could easily discover the origin of the three characteristics of Elizabethan renaissance of English literature, Euphuism, Romance and Pastoralism and in Sanskrit

literature. Euphuism is both in the borrowed thought and form of expression and in plot-construction. Romance is found in the novel themes of Sanskrit literature which deal with the long struggle between the Devas and the Asuras. Pastoralism is the European representative of Indian Āśrama-life in the woods of the R̄ṣis and the Munis who lived in nature and loved the objects that were of and nearest to nature. It is only if we understand this aspect, that we could realise the spirit underlying the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Arnold, Rossetti and other stalwarts of *the Age of Romance of Nature and Spiritual Life* in the Nineteenth Century. Carlyle and Browning speak the language of Indian vedānta and Indian spirituality. The contact of English literature with Indian literature in the Elizabethan Age has indeed revolutionised Christian philosophy and Christian spirituality. When Dean Inge speaks of spiritualising patriotism and politics, he is speaking in the language of Bhīṣma and Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata.

Note—A few striking parallels between the words of Shakespeare and the words of Veda-Vyasa might convince the readers of the contact between India and Great Britain in the cultural field in the age of Shakespeare, even if we cannot show, from internal evidence, such a contact in the earlier ages. One who studies Chaucer's Astrolabe may easily see the contact between the East and the West as early as the Fourteenth Century. The condition of the feudal society of Europe in the Middle Ages must show the contact in the structures of society in India and in Europe at about the same time.

The words of Macbeth to the murderers engaged by him to do away with Banquo find their parallel in the words of Kamsa to his court-wrestlers Chanura and Mushtika, when Kamsa wanted to get rid of Śri Kṛṣṇa and his brother Balarāma, so that his career as the King of the Yadavas might be an unobstructed one. (Harivamśa, II, 28). (Macbeth murdered Duncan and got the throne. Kamsa deposed his father Ugrasena and became the ruler of the Yadavas.)

The description of the moving mountain in the Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, Ch. 135, is reproduced in the description of the moving forest in Macbeth, V. iv.

Macbeth. II. ii. 59-63.

"What hands are here? ha! they pluck out mine eyes!
Will all great Neptune's Ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green-one red."

just after Macbeth murders Duncan and comes out.

cf. Skanda Purāna-V. Avanti Khanda-iii. Rewa Khanda-Ch. 49.

Saṃkara kills the asura Andhaka with His Trident (Śūla), sits on Kailasa and finds that the blood of the asura sticking to the trident would not be cleaned. He goes to all teerthas and dips the trident in the holy waters but the trident does not shake off the blood-drops. At last on mount Bhṛgu, in the Vindhya Range, on the banks of Narmada, it is cleaned with the water of the Śūlabha teertha.

When Hamlet is sent to England by his uncle Claudius with the instruction that the prince should be done away with there, he manages to get into possession of the secret letter from the pocket of one of his escorts, while searching in the dark for his sea-gown. Then he takes the letter, places in its stead another letter making the escorts themselves the victims. Then a pirate boat attacks the boat of Hamlet and he escapes into that boat and returns to Denmark. The plot further goes on. (Hamlet V. ii.) In the Märkandeya Purāna, Ch. 33, Madalasa gives her son Alarka a gold ring when she goes with her husband to the forest, and asks him to open it and take out a message she leaves for his use in time of extreme distress. The message is written by her on fine silk and placed within the ring. It so happens that Subahu, the elder brother of Alarka, sets up the King of Kaśi to invade the kingdom of Alarka with a view to turn him from the way of worldly life. In extreme distress, Alarka opens the ring, sees the message of his learned mother, goes to the sage Dattatreya, learns Divine Wisdom from the sage, gives up the fight for power and wealth, and goes to the forest, placing his son on the throne. He practises yoga and realises his *atma* and attains mukti. There is sure echo in the two situations. The background in Hamlet is material, while it is spiritual in the Purāna of Veda-Vyasa.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS. NEW SERIES No. VI.

On the Ancient Greek Myth about the Metamorphosis of Philemon and Baucis into two Sacred Trees.

BY THE LATE PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IF we examine the mythology of ancient Greece we will find that there were current among the ancient Greeks many myths and legends about the lives and doings of the gods and the goddesses and about their dealings with human beings. One beautiful and touching specimen of these myths is that about an old man named Philemon and his wife Baucis. It runs as follows :—

Once upon a time, there was a town of which the people had become hard-hearted and wicked. These people were so inhospitable that, instead of welcoming strangers and guests they treated them very rudely. Far and wide, this town became notorious for its lack of hospitality.

In the outskirts of this town, there stood a thatched cottage in which dwelt an old couple named Philemon and Baucis. Although they were very poor, they were very hospitable and were always glad to share their last crust of bread with anyone who came to their humble cottage.

One evening, two strangers came to this town and requested some of the towns-people to furnish them with a meal and a lodging for the night. Not only was this refused but they were rudely turned out from their doors. At last, they came to the humble cottage of Philemon and Baucis who not only welcomed them very gladly but also entertained them very hospitably notwithstanding their own poverty.

Now, the two strangers who had come to Philemon's cottage were no other than the two gods Jupiter and Mercury. They had been so much angered by the rudeness and inhospitality of the town and its people that, on the very next morning, they destroyed it and all its inhabitants with the exception of only Philemon and Baucis. The two gods had been so much pleased with the kindly

hospitality of these two old and poor man and woman that the former changed their humble and thatched cottage into a magnificent temple and appointed them to be its custodians for the remainder of their lives. The divine guests further granted their old and poor hosts the boon that the two latter would die simultaneously so that one of them would not remain alive to mourn the death of the other. In fulfilment of the further boon granted them by the two gods, Philemon and Baucis, after their deaths, were metamorphosed into two majestic trees, their branches intertwining as though they were whispering loving secrets to each other. These two magnificent trees stood for centuries before the temple of Jupiter, and pilgrims used to come and hang garlands of flowers on their branches as tokens of their respect and loving appreciation of the deceased old couple Philemon and Baucis.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

- (1) In ancient Greece, the people believed that the gods and goddesses used to come down to the earth from heaven and to mix familiarly with human beings.
- (2) The gods used to punish wicked cities and their vicious inhabitants by destroying them altogether.
- (3) On the other hand, the divine dwellers of the celestial regions used to appreciate virtues in human beings and to reward the virtuous suitably.
- (4) The ancient Greeks also believed that the gods could, at their sweet will and pleasure, change human beings into trees and flowers, either by way of reward or out of pity for the latter's sufferings.
- (5) The ancient Greeks used to worship sacred trees and to present to them votive offerings in the shape of garlands of flowers.
- (6) The ancient Greeks regarded the post of the custodian of sacred shrine or temple as a very honourable appointment.

THE NORTH-WESTERN RECENSION OF VĀLMÍKI-RĀMĀYANA*

THERE have existed for centuries at least three well-marked recensions of the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki and they are usually known to modern scholars as the North-Eastern, Southern and North-Western. The first two are available in print in the costly and rare edition of Gorresio (1850) and the editions printed in Bombay or Madras with such well-known commentaries as the *Bhūṣaṇa* of Govindarāja (fifteenth century) and the *Tilaka* of Rāma, which claims like the other and more famous commentary named above, to be based on the older commentaries of Maheśvara Tīrtha and the anonymous *Katāka*, which is still older. For the Southern recension we have a still older commentary in the mixed Sanskrit-Tamil dialect, known as *Matipravāla*, and bearing the name *Tanīślōkī*, composed in the thirteenth century. There is evidence that there were still older commentaries in South India, in which there has been a continuous tradition of interpretation which was passed orally from generation to generation. South Indian commentators have also exercised considerable care in trying to secure a pure text by rejecting interpolations. The very old vernacular versions of the great epic in different parts of India furnish a means of determining the subject-content of the epic as received in different regions and epochs.

The existence of recensions, markedly differing from one another, is not confined to the two national epics. It is found even in the case of a well-known classic like the *Sākuntalā*. Vālmīki's great work still awaits a critical reconstruction, based on all available manuscripts taking count of all available commentaries and examining the variants in the manuscripts of all extant recensions. This is being done for the *Mahābhārata* in the great edition undertaken by the Bhandarkar

* The *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki in its North-Western Recension, Sandarakapāla, ed. by Viśvabandhu Śāstri, pp. 106, 648, D. A. V. Sanskrit College, Lahore. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

Oriental Research Institute. The D. A. V. College of Lahore has rendered a great service to scholarship by undertaking the publication of the text of the North-Western recension on the basis of manuscripts of it that it has collected. The aim has simply been to present in print a convenient text of this recension showing firstly the variants of this recension as ascertained from a number of manuscripts, and secondly to indicate the verses which are peculiar to this recension and not to be found in either or both the rival recensions. For purposes of rough comparison, the standard texts of the two other recensions are taken to be the edition with the *Bhūṣāṇa* printed by T. R. Kṛṣṇacārya and T. R. Vyāsacārya at Bombay in 1912, and Gorresio's text (1850) representing the North-Eastern or Bengali recension. This arrangement though convenient, in making it possible to provide a useful comparative edition showing the main variations to be seen at a glance by a reader of the new edition, is obviously defective. Neither of the two rival recensions used was subjected to any exhaustive reconstruction on the basis of a sufficiently large number of manuscripts pertaining to the region in which the recension is current. Over a hundred manuscripts at least go into the collation of the Poona *Mahābhārata*. A stupendous task of the kind has yet to be undertaken for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Till it is done, it is ungenerous to quarrel with an attempt like the D. A. V. College's to present a convenient text of the one unprinted recension that scholars could deal with only in manuscripts till its appearance. It presents at least the framework for more exhaustive comparisons that must precede the production of a definitive text of the epic, showing its subsequent modifications.

The Research Department of the D. A. V. College and its small staff deserve thanks for having produced the successive volumes with commendable quickness. In the space of twelve years the first five kāṇḍas have seen the light. The *Sundarakāṇḍa*, the most popular section of the poem, is now available. Śrī Viśvabandhu Śāstri, its erudite editor, has prefixed to the volume an elaborate introduction covering 105 pages. He deals in it very thoroughly with the features of the manuscripts used

(ten in all) and the principles followed in preparing the text. He shows that the text preserved in these ten manuscripts (which may be deemed representative) follow a common textual tradition (pp. 5-56). But, among themselves they show minor variations. Thus, in dividing the text they do not follow any uniform standard, and the *sargas* of the *kāṇḍa* vary from 85 to 103, and the actual number of verses of this *kāṇḍa* in the manuscripts utilised varies from 3806 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3612 $\frac{1}{2}$ (p. 29). Within the number two groups are noticeable, though even within a group, each manuscript shows independent entity (p. 48). The manageable size of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the great sanctity attached to it in daily recitation or reading, must account for the jealous care with which the individuality of each manuscript is maintained.

It would be natural to presume that, apart from variations due to time and independent evolution, the texts of the two Northern versions are sufficiently marked off from the Southern recension to form a single recension. On the basis of an elaborate examination, Śrī Viśvabandhu Śastri finds that the extent of deviation of form and substance is so great between the two Northern recensions as to necessitate their being treated as quite distinct (p. 58). The divergence in topical content is noteworthy between the three recensions, as illustrated in this *kāṇḍa*. The three begin and end the *kāṇḍa* differently. The North-Eastern edition begins with the first view of the ocean, which the south-bound army of *tāṇarās* had from the summit of Mahendragiri, and it ends with the story of the completion of the *setu* and of its watch by Vibhiṣaṇa. The Southern recension begins with Hanūmān's flight by air to Lankā and ends with Hanūmān's assurance to Rāma of the speedy rescue of Sītā, at the end of his description of his interview with her. The North-Western recension begins with Hanūmān's arrival in Lankā and his observation from the summit of Trikūṭa. It ends with Rāvaṇa's remonstrance with his counsellors after the enemy had crossed into Lankā. The North-Eastern recension of this *kāṇḍa* comprises thus, as compared with the Southern, 4 *sargas* of the *kāṇḍa* preceding and 22 of that succeeding. While the Southern text divides the *kāṇḍa* into only 68 *sargas*, the North-Eastern makes 107 *sargas* of its

text, while the North-Eastern version has 95 *sargas*. In extent the North-Eastern, North-Western and Southern texts cover 3308, 4202 and 3948 *klshas*. Out of the North-Western text as many as 1294 verses are wanting in the North-Eastern text and 1163 in the Southern, and as many as 554 verses are missing in both the rival texts, so that about 13 per cent of its text is exclusively its own in the North-Eastern text. The valuable tabular statements on pp. 64-71 show the topics which are included in the North-Western text but are wanting in each of the other two, and vice versa.

The antiquity of a North-Western text like the one now published is seen from a comparison of its exclusive features with the *Rmuyayanjanjari* of Kshemendra (pp. 75-76). A verse found in the North-Western text and cited from the *Rmuyaya* by Mammata found only in the North-Western text alone of this *kanda*. The verses cited by Lakshmidhara in the *Krtya kalpataru* (C. 1110 A.D.) from the *Rmuyaya*, which I have been unable to trace in the Bombay editions, probably occur in the Northern recensions.

In answer to the complaint made by a reviewer of an earlier *kanda* in the series, an elaborate indication of the editing technique is now furnished on pp. 78-106.

The text itself is printed in fine readable type, with divisions of compound words, and marginal indication of their occurrence or otherwise in other recensions. The foot-notes give the readings of the manuscripts used, Manuscript No. 4837 (BII) which bears the date V.S. 1646 (C. 1589 A.D.) being used as the text, for the initial collection (p. 78). The division of compound words, though opposed to correct usage, is convenient for localizing textual variants.

Sri Viavabandhu Sastri has met, in his preface (pp. 10-12), the criticisms of Dr. S. K. De of an earlier edition, and shown that the aim of the edition was misconceived and the meaning of an important marginal indication misunderstood.

The scholarship and loving care with which the edition of the North-Western text of the *Sundarakanda* has been prepared and the typographical difficulties successfully overcome by Sri Viavabandhu Sastri are beyond praise.

K. V. RANGASWAMI.

REVIEWS

The Dvaita Philosophy and its Place in the Vedānta—By Vidwan H.N. Raghavendrachar, M.A. Studies in Philosophy No. 1. Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

VIDWAN Raghavendrachar of the Department of Philosophy of Mysore in this work attempts to show how the weakness in Advaita and Viśistādvaita systems of philosophy was overcome by Madhvacārya, after giving a brief summary of the Advaita and Viśistādvaita systems to make the discussions of the Dvaita more intelligible. According to him Advaita considers *Brahman* as *nirguna* and the world as *mithya*. The term monism is applied to Advaita as not free from defects. One in many cannot be justified with reference to it, for there is no sense of many and therefore no occasion for the sense of one since according to Advaita the world is traced to two entities, *Brahman* and *maya*. Even to hold that *Brahman* is the ground of *maya* needs a justification because *Brahman* which is *cit* and *maya* which is *acit* can never be brought together. The term qualified monism is applied to Viśistādvaita. How far according to this system *Brahman* could be regarded as one needs justification because the so-called *Brahman* in this system consists of elements that are distinct from it. Further, how far *Brahman* is the source of reality of the world also needs a justification because this sole giver of reality to the world is not consistent with the position of this system. According to Dvaita Vedānta *Brahman* is the source of the reality of the world whether the world is in the form of cause or in the form of effect. It has in itself no distinction and it has nothing equal and nothing higher. This explains how *Brahman* of Dvaita Vedānta has a higher conception than *nirguna Brahman* of the Advaita and *Tīvara* of Viśistādvaita. Thus the monistic or absolutistic thought started by the *puruṣasūkta* of the Rgveda substantiated by the Upaniṣads, justified by the whole of the vedic literature and illustrated by the smṛtis like the Maha-bhārata finds clear expression and recognition in the Dvaita

Vedānta. Hence, philosophical reflection in India has reached its culmination in Dvaita Vedānta and without a study of this system, therefore, one's knowledge of Indian thought is not complete. Professor A. R. Wadia in his short foreword says very properly that though the Vidwan's exposition may not be able to carry conviction to Advaitins and Viśistādvaitins it may go a long way to prove that Dvaita Vedānta has philosophical merits. The glossary and the index have added to the usefulness of the book; so also to the lengthy introduction to the Vedānta system. The author is to be congratulated on his achievement and the publishers on the splendid get-up of the book.

N.I.

P. Deussen's Interpretation of Vedānta—By A. C. Mukerji, University of Allahabad Studies, 1939. Philosophy Section.

MR. A. C. MUKERJI, Reader in Philosophy, Allahabad University, has in this pamphlet subjected Deussen's interpretation of Vedānta to a rather lengthy criticism in view of the influence it has exercised upon the subsequent interpreters of Śaṅkara. He has removed many misconceptions which Deussen's interpretation has helped to perpetuate and some of which, though of a rather serious character, still continue unchecked and unchallenged. The author has done a great service in making clear the Vedānta system of Śaṅkara.

N.I.

Rgveda Maṇtras in Their Ritual Setting in The Gṛhyasūtras (with special reference to the Āśvalayana Gṛhyasūtra); & Non-Rgvedic Mantras Rubricated in The Āśvalayana-Gṛhya-Sūtra: Sources and Interpretation—By Vinayak Mahadev Apte, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab), Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Price Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 3-0-0 respectively.

V. M. APTE, Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, has in the first pamphlet under review made a careful examination of every single mantra

citation in the literature of ritual as to the applicability of the mantras to the rites in which they are liturgically employed and has come to the conclusion that the framers of the rituals honestly attempted to fit the mantra citation well into their ritual setting. In the author's opinion the relation obtained in the mantras and the ceremonies in which they are employed is not as superficial, the appropriateness of the mantras is not as verbal as is often supposed and he has established this opinion of his by taking up for detailed examination the case of the Rgveda Mantras cited in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. At the end of this pamphlet is given in tabular form a classification of the Rgveda Mantras in the order in which they occur in the Rgveda Saṃhitā subdivided into five classes, Sacramental, Invocation, Mythological, Oblational and Superficial. The pamphlet deserves to be read by everyone interested in the subject.

In the second monograph under review Dr. Apte has made an investigation into the sources and interpretation of all mantras other than those taken from Rgveda but liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. In this monograph the term mantra is made to connote all kinds of liturgical formulas. A list of vedic texts referred to or cited in the investigation with abbreviations of their titles is given at the end of the work under the heads of Saṃhitas; Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads; Brāhma-Sūtras; and Gṛhya-Sūtras. The monograph is very interesting and the author has given a good exposition.

N.I.

An Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa—By C. Narayana Menon, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. Published by S. C. Guha, Editor, Indiana, Gandhi-gram, Benares.

AMONG the three classes of books mentioned by Bacon, Dr. Menon's brief but profound essay on the Rāmāyaṇa belongs to the last class which has to be read, re-read and digested. His style is delusively simple; but compact of thought and concentrated in expression, his thesis is nothing less than a brilliant vindication of India's traditional approach to the Rāmāyaṇa. He has taken into consideration the versions of Vālmiki, Tulsidas and the poet of

Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇa into consideration and has many valuable things to say about their several presentations of the redeeming story of Rāma. Those who have read Dr. Menon's Shakespearean criticism will not be disappointed with his next effort in criticism. But this essay being profoundly suggestive is by the same token both stimulating and provocative. And those who care for it may accept the challenge that he scatters about—the magnificent attack on Aristotle's theory of Eutharsis, the no less effective criticism of the modern curiosity about the private lives of poets and so forth. Suffice it to say that Dr. Menon has written a valuable and challenging essay, which deserves to be read by all who are interested in Indian culture.

M.R.S.

Excavations at Rairh During the Samvat Years 1995 and 1996 (1938-39 and 1939-40)—By Dr. K. N. Puri, Superintendent of Archaeology, Jaipur State. Price Re. 1-0-0.

To the spade of the archaeologist, Jaipur, offers a rich field. It is a matter of gratification to note that the State is keeping pace with British India and the Indian States like Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad in unfolding the ancient history of our motherland. The report under review embodies the results of excavations conducted at Rairh during two successive seasons. The work on the site was begun by the late Rao Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the reputed archaeologist, whose sudden death took away from the field of archaeological research a scholar of great attainments. Later the work was continued by Dr. K. N. Puri, the present Superintendent of Archaeology of the State.

The ancient site at Rairh came to be known as a result of a chance discovery of silver punch-marked coins by a peasant boy. The remains laid bare reveal the presence of three different periods of occupation, the earliest strata going back to the Mauryan times, the second of about 180 B.C.; marking the disintegration of Mauryan Empire and the third period belonging to the close of the second century A.D. as evidenced by the discovery of numerous copper coins of the Malevas who acknowledged the overlordship of the Mauryas and Sungas. Among

the antiquities unearthed were punch-marked coins, pottery plaques representing the mother goddesses, iron and steel objects, beads and pottery. A number of furnaces excavated testify to the fact that Rairh was a flourishing industrial town. A large number of pottery, ring-walls or pits are found. Similar ones were unearthed by Sir John Marshall on the Bhir Mound at Taxila, and also at a number of other sites like Ujjaini and Sravasti. As Sir John Marshall says they might have been soakpits and they were not probably granaries used by the people to store grain. As regards the religion of the people the available evidence points to the worship of the mother goddesses although the cult of Śiva and Pārvati was not unknown. Influence of Buddhism, though not marked, may be traced in the discovery of a fragment of Chaur sand stone bowl, a few pieces of highly polished Buddhist pottery and steatite caskets similar to relic caskets.

A new feature of the report is the insertion of numerous line drawings of pottery, tools, beads etc. which may prove very useful in a comparative study of the objects discovered at other important places. The illustrations are beautiful and copious and repay careful study. We hope that the excavations at Bairat Nailiasar-Sambat and Rairh which have yielded valuable results would offer enough encouragement to further archaeological discoveries and there will be no surprise if one day the eastward traces of the Indus Valley culture are brought to light within the bounds of Rajaputana from where the Mohenjo-darians procured their semi-precious stones and copper.

D.S.A.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year 1938-39. Price Rs. 3-12-0; **The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhavathi in Baroda State:** Archaeological Series Memoir No. III. Price Rs. 5-8-0; and **Ancient Vijñaptipatras:** Sri Pratāpa-simha Mahārāja Rājyābhisekha Granthamālā. Price Rs. 9-11-0. By Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Sāstri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

We congratulate Dr. Hirananda Sāstri, Director of Archaeology in Baroda State on the excellent reports he has published. Exploration work was continued at Gohilwad *timbo* near Amreli

and at Sabasralinga reservoir. The work of listing the monuments in the state after close verification is continued. The temple of Jasamalanāth at Asoda is remarkable as it exposes some of the features of the Hoysala and Cālukyan types with which we are familiar in the Mysore State and its neighbourhood. A flight of the temple of Asoda and the pannels, carvings on the parapets are very distinct and interesting. But for the pagodas which are distinctly of modern type one would mistake them for a South Indian Shrine. The Gandevi inscription of the Kadamba King Shashṭha II appears to be the first Kadamba record discovered in Gujarat. It commences with Shashṭha I who marries Nayavyadevi with son Śri Nāgavarma who married Mālayadevi with Gūhalladeva as their son who married Gauravyadevi and whose son was Shashṭhaṇja or Shashṭha II. This ruler who is claimed to have conquered the kings of Saurashtra, Āṅga, Kalinga, Malava, Mahārāstra, Āndhra, Viśhya and Kāñchi defeated the Simhala Kings Prasika and Lanka in naval fight suggesting Simhala as distinct from Lanka. Whether they are between two islands or places as Kalhana remarks in the Rājatarangini or nearby places with *prasasti* as a wedge in between them we do not know. He takes it that the Rākṣasas of Lanka saw the armies in Simhala and together with their stuccoed mansions, trembled thinking of another impending invasion by Rāma. Pārasikas referred to are perhaps the Parsis of those days who had become turbulent and were anxious to assert themselves. Shashṭha is supposed to have reached Prabhāsa which is an interesting evidence of Indian rulers being acquainted with naval war-fare in those far off places in the first half of the eleventh century. The Anastu copper plate grant of Karka Śuvarnavarṣa in the Sakā year 739 is engraved in characters which are the successor of the Vaiṭhabhi alphabet with traces of the precursor of modern Kannada but written in Saṃskrit. It was issued from Ketaka, the head-quarters of the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakutas in the Lata-mandala. It records the gift of the village of Majjārgaṇi in the Bharukachchha district to the Brahmana Bhatta-Śri-Bhatta son of Kukkura. Its scribe was Śri Nemāditya, son of Śri-Durgabhaṭṭa the *kulaputra*. The record ends with the sign-manual of Karkarāja-deva, son of the illustrious Indrāraja. The grant gives the

genealogy of the Rastrakuta Kings of the main branch up to Amoghavarṣa I and others.

The architectural gems of Baroda are found in Dabhoi. These monuments attract visitors from East and West who seldom return without visiting these magnificent structures of medieval Gujarat. Since the publication of the book entitled 'The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat' by Burgess and Cousens the vast material available up-to-date had not been made use of or particularly readily accessible to visitors of these famous antiquities. We are now having new material added in large quantities. Some of the additions are very noteworthy for they establish the date of the monuments with certainty after the identification of the names of the architects which settles their age. This place is a junction station of the Baroda State Railway situated about eighteen miles South-east of Baroda itself. Dabhoi is a derivative of the Sanskrit term Darbhavati. *Romakasiddhanta*, an astronomical treatise mentions Dabhoi indicating that the town was in existence in about the sixth century of the Christian Era. The name of the place occurs in several Jaina works. Dr. Sastri gives a traditional account about its designation and gives a description of the several monuments and inscriptions contained in the place and the other parts of the Baroda State which refer to it. It was a fortified town in the thirteenth century though now the fortifications are dismantled. The Baroda Gate is the best preserved and is the most imposing. The column of the Gates is very good. The Kālika-manta temple has undergone substantial repairs but the exterior still retains the original striking features of the pillar. It is profusely ornamented with sculptures and contains many sculptures illustrating texts taken from Hindu Mythology. The illustrations in the text are excellent and it is hoped that the readers will be inspired to pay an early visit to these well-known antiquities. Colonel Doddard made a rapid movement on Dabhoi and took it in 1799. In 1783 Bharach, Dabhoi, Sinor and other districts were restored to the Marathas and Forbes had to leave Dabhoi which he began to love so much and its original memories are to be found in his verses giving expression to the effusion of a

heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from this peculiar situation and hints at the insecurity of the life after all.

"The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
 Turn Ashes—or it prospers, and anon,
 Like snow upon the Desert's dusty Face,
 Lightening a Little Hour or two—is gone.

"Think! in this battered Caravanserai
 Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
 How Sultān after Sultān with his Pomp
 Abode his Hour or two, and went his way."

We congratulate Dr. Sastri on the excellent work he has been doing for the Archaeology of Baroda State. The last work by Dr. Sastri as Director of Archaeology in the Baroda State is Ancient Vijñaptipatras of Śrī Pratīpasidha Mahārāja Rājyābhisekha Granthamālā Series. The series is to commemorate the accession to the Gadi of His Highness Mahārāja Pratīpasidha Gaekwad as the Dewan Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar in a short foreword to this publication has remarked. In an American journal, 'Asia' Dr. Sastri published a short study on the subject of this memoir and this opened up a comparatively new field of research and he took up a more detailed examination of these documents and this work embodies the results of a careful study and will be found interesting on account of the light they throw on the conditions of Western India in the period covered by the documents. Cultural movements affecting any part of India are welcome and those who take an interest in placing the knowledge they possess before research workers may be regarded as benefactors of India and our gratitude goes to Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar and the Baroda Durbar for allowing to Dr. Sastri to examine the documents for the purpose. The documents cover a wide range and their usefulness in illustrating many a dark page in the history of Gujarat-Kathiawad cannot be gainsaid. Pictures of the varying strata of society are found for the first time and the available source book of Indian History of these parts is here. Jainism in these parts played a great part in preserving the indigenous culture in the midst of actually disturbed political conditions of medieval India, as we also know from these documents. Vijñaptipatras were

chiefly meant to invite a Jaina acarya or preceptor to stay with a Jaina Sangha or community of a particular locality during the next *chaumasa*, i.e. the period of the four months of the rainy season when touring is not allowed to a Jain monk. Some of them are very excellent compositions like the Induduta of Vinayavijaya written in imitation of the Meghaduta of Kalidasa. Dr. Sastri on the methodology of the *Vijñaptipatras* has followed the *Patrakaumudi* of Vararuchi. Of the several documents mentioned is the firman of Jahangir dated 1580; a fragmentary scroll of the early seventeenth century belonging to the early Mughal period and later ones are mentioned; some old Indian letters exhibiting cultural, historical and archaeological points of view of the period : E.g. the so-called Cānakya's letter found in the Mudrarākṣasa of Viśvākhadatta and another attributed to *Tishyarakshita*, the dissolute young woman whom Asoka married in his old age and a third refers to the letter of Pushyamitra to his son Agnimitra as found in the Malavikāgnimitra of Kalidasa and the last about the purchase of a slave-girl and the method of writing bonds of slave-girls, say in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the Vikrama Era 1288 in an attack made on foreign states, the slave-girl Panuti by name, who is of fair complexion and sixteen years of age brought by the illustrious Rāja-Pratāpasimha was sold at a public place putting grass on her head with the knowledge of the public i.e. the five principal citizens and the four varnas, for 504 drāmmas from the dealer Asadhara for the performance of the work of female slaves. The slave-girl should perform faithfully all the duties in the house of the dealer. Her work is specified, her rights and duties are set-forth and the penalties with which they will be enforced are mentioned. The bond is attested by witnesses. The illustrations are excellent and the index is copious.

S. S.

List of Inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras—(Compiled up to 31st March 1938).
 Price Rs. 5-8-0 or 8s. 6d ; **Subject-Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936.** Price Rs. 3-8-0 or 5s. 6d.—By Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, B.A. Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

RAO BARADUR Krishnamacharlu has compiled a list of inscriptions copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, till 31st March 1938 containing a detailed list of contents, the date and the place of find of the inscription, the works in which they are to be found and the kings to whom they are related are all mentioned in adequate detail to locate the inscription and collect every information available regarding it. The Subject-Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936 fulfills a long felt want. We are anxious indeed that a similar work on Mysore Epigraphy will be published at no distant date and that Mr. Krishnamacharlu will bring the Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency up-to-date.

S. S.

Index to The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India for 1912-1919 and Part I from 1902-1918.

Price Rs. 7-8-0 or 11s. 6d.

THIS completes the index to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India till 1929 but yet leaves many years behind. A comprehensive index to the whole work of the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India in one handy volume would be very much welcome even if it would mean thinner paper, smaller type and double column printing.

S. S.

**Administration Report of the Sri Chitralayam for 1116 M. E.
Trivandrum.**

WE congratulate the Chitralayam on its successful completion of five years of useful service and commencing the sixth year. It is notable that the entrance fee has been abolished which has added to the appreciable increase in the number of visitors. Eighty-one new additions were made to the Chitralayam including copies of murals, frescoes from Ajanta and Bagh and paintings donated by philanthropic gentlemen.

H.R.

**A Report on the Working of the State Museum, Pudukkottai. For
Fasli 1350 (July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941).**

WE are glad the Museum is maintaining its popularity and during the year under report the number of visitors rose to

1,25,204. Seventy new exhibits including a fine specimen of a copper Narasimha standing on his right leg, left being bent up at the knee and held up. A Natarṣṭa, Śivakāmi, a seated devi identifiable as Bhuvaneśvari and a six-armed dancing Gaṇeṣa or Nytyaganapati are the interesting bronzes discovered at a breach of the Brahmapuram Sarvamanya tank. A figure of a durga as Mahiśasuramardhani, a pedestal with the buffalo-head of Mahiśa-sura in front and the *tiruvōci* in three separate pieces found in the site of a Jaina temple at Sembattur is an important find. Two stone inscriptions of the time of the Cōla Kings Parākesari Vijayalaya and Parākesari Parantaka I in Tamil characters, the earliest to mention the famous Tamil Merchant Guild called *Nanadesatitai-ayivorattu—ainnurruvar* or *Valanjiar ainurruvar* were added to the Museum during the year. Excavations were conducted also at Kodumbalur in Aivar Kovil which revealed a temple facing west consisting a composite *garbagrham* including five shrines and to the west of it an *ardhamantapam*, a large pillared *mahanmantapam* and a smaller *nandimantapam*. Two bas-relief pannels of dwarfs or *bhutas* squatting or blowing into a conch are *in situ*. Seven inscriptions on the mouldings of the mantapams refer to this temple as Aintali. The peculiar architectural features and inscriptions roughly help to find out the date or period of its construction. The appendices give the number of visitors during the year, specimens and books added to the Museum, list of conserved monuments and notes of inscriptions noticed during the year. We have no doubt the Pudukkottai Durbar will give every encouragement to this noble work of the State Museum.

H.R.

Bussy in The Deccan—Being extracts from "Bussy and French India" by A. Martineau. Translated by Dr. Miss A. Cammiade, L.M. & S. Published by the Society for the History of French India, Pondicherry. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

Bussy is one of the remarkable figures in the history of the French Colonial expansion in India. As no narrative giving full and authentic details about Bussy is available, any attempt to throw

some light on the career and work of this Frenchman deserves gratitude.

Prof. A. Martineau is a French scholar and a historian of repute who has conducted valuable researches in French Colonial history. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Miss Cammiade, his work, *Bussy and French India* is now available to the English known public.

The book under review, *Bussy in the Deccan*, though an extract in itself, gives us a fairly comprehensive idea of the career and part played by Bussy in the complicated affairs of the Deccan politics, who played a greater role than any other man save Dupliex in the eighteenth century. Nurtured in the traditions of Dupliex and contemporary of Dupliex and Lally, though at variance with both of them, Bussy was destined to witness the beginning as well as the end of the French dominion in India. Bussy ranks in history not merely as a military genius but also as a diplomat and perhaps in diplomacy he even surpassed Dupliex, his master. Martineau is all praise for him and often descends to hero worship. However, he has thrown considerable light on this obscure period of Deccan history. Our only regret is that his account is mainly based on French Records and contemporary English, Persian and Marathi sources which have not been here touched upon would have been highly valuable to form a correct estimate of Bussy.

Dr. Miss Cammiade's English version containing extracts from the original French, often lacks continuity and appears disjointed. But she has succeeded in conveying the spirit of the original. An introduction and an index would have been useful to the readers and we expect that they will find a place when a second edition appears. Our gratitude is due to Dr. Miss Cammiade who has rendered a great service to those who are unable to read Prof. A. Martineau's work in French by rendering extracts from the original into English which we hope will be widely read and appreciated by all students of Deccan History.

D. S. A.

ENGLISH—SANSKRIT

Sriman Mahābhārata Tatparyanirnaya of Srimad Ānanda Teertha (Part I, Ādhyayas I to IX) with English Translation of the original text and notes from the unpublished commentary of Śri Vadiraja Svami thereon—By B. Gururajah Rao, B.A., B.L. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

SRIMAN Mahābhārata Tatparyanirnaya is one of the reputed works of Śri Madhvacārya whose pontifical name is Śrimad Ānanda-teertha. Mahābhārata is considered by many as the fifth Veda and the learned acārya has in this book consisting of thirty-two chapters brought out the religious and philosophical import of that national heritage. Mr. B. Gururajah Rao has taken up the arduous task of translating this important work into English and has published the first nine chapters and it is hoped that he will be enabled to complete the task undertaken by him. In this Tatparyanirnaya the tenth chapter has been devoted to the avatar of Bhagavan Badarāyaṇa or Śri Vyasa, a very fascinating subject which has been splendidly dealt with by the acārya. Further Bhimasena is given the first place among the Pāndavas. Mahābhārata is said to depict the fight between goodness and virtue on the one side and evil on the other side. Bhima represents goodness and virtue whereas Duryodana represents the opposite. Rao Bahadur B. Venkatesa-char in a foreword deals with each chapter of the book, rightly remarking that those who cherish the desire to understand the precious religious philosophy treasured in the Epic but are not able to read the original must feel grateful to the author for having placed before them a translation of the work. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

N.I.

SANSKRIT—HINDI

Pali Jatakavali—By Pandit Batuknath Sharma, M.A. Published by Master Kherilal and Sons, Benares City. Price Re. 1-0-0.

OUT of five hundred and fifty-seven jātaka stories recorded in the Pāli language, the author has selected twenty stories, abridged them with Sanskrit cāya and Hindi translation. Besides a short summary,

the work also contains an introduction in Sanskrit, a synopsis of grammar and a Pāli-Sanskrit glossary. The stories selected are interesting. The work is a laudable attempt to introduce into the Sanskrit knowing public the vast store of Pāli literature.

P. S. L.

SANSKRIT

Sāmavedasamhitā—Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon). Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.

SĀMVEDASAMHITA is the second contribution of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja to the Adyar Library Publications, the first being *Rgveda* with the commentary of Mādhaba. In the book under review there are two commentaries on the *Sāmavedasamhitā*, one by Mādhaba, son of Nārāyaṇa who belongs to about 600 A.D. and the other by Bharatasvamin, son of Nārāyaṇa, who belongs to the early fourteenth century. The author has utilized a very large number of manuscripts in bringing out the edition. It is hoped that in the second part which is to come the variant readings found in the different manuscripts, some indices and appendices as also some notes will appear. The commentary of Mādhaba is confined to the *pūrvārcika* while that of Bharatasvamin to the *uttarārcika*. The division adopted in this book is into *Prapāthakas* and *Daśathis*. For easy reference a comparative table of those different divisions as also serially numbering according to the Vedic concordance of Bloomfield is given at the end of the work. The last four verses of the fifth *Daśatha* of the third *Prapāthaka* which were omitted by over-sight from the body of the book are also given at the end of the work. The Adyar Library deserves the thanks and congratulations for the publication and the get up of this useful work.

N.I.

Sarvassamavittsprabhavah—By C. Venkataramanayya, Bangalore City.

THIS work on Sanskrit metre by Mr. C. Venkataramanayya is very lucid and the last chapter on calculations of the number of various metres of various gāṇa-syllables will amply repay a careful

study. Dr. R. Shama Sastry of Mysore has given his opinion on the publications of the author including this book under review and we echo the same.

N.I.

Yajñaphalam of Bhāsa with introduction in Sanskrit—By Rājavaidya Jivarama Kālidasa Sastri. Published by the Rasashala Aushadhashram, Gondal, Kathiawar. Price Rs. 5.

YAJÑAPHALAM is a Sanskrit play in seven acts, edited by Śrī Kālidasa Sastri, based on two manuscript copies of the play called *Yajña Nātaka* and *Yajñaphala Nātaka*, collected and preserved by him in his library. One of them written by Svami Sudhananda Tirtha bears the date 1727 Vikramasamvat (1670 A. D.); the other written by Devaprasada Sarma at Hastinapura is dated 1859 of the same era, (1802 A. D.). Śrī Gopaladatta Sastri has supplied grammatical notes on some of the solecisms of the play.

The theme of the play is the story of the Balakanda of the Rāmāyaṇa with a few minor deviations. The play concludes with the marriage of Sita, which is the phala of Janaka's Yajña, while Rāma's handling the Śivadhanus, the condition on which Sita could be married to him, is thrown to the background. However, the title of the play is well chosen; Rāma's birth is the *Phala* of Dāśaratha's *Yajña*; Ridding the Āśramas of the menace of the Rākṣasas through Rāma's powers is the *Phala* of Visvamitra's *Yajña*; and Rāma's marriage with Sita is the *Phala* of Janaka's *Yajña*. The author has stressed this point by using the very word *Yajña-phala* more than half a dozen times during the play.

The play has intrinsic merit, written in a simple language and an elegant style, with homely and appealing conversations. The Prākrit is of a mixed type. The few deviations (except Act VI) are intended to ennoble the character of Dasaratha and Kaikeyi. No occasion is missed throughout to emphasise the superiority of the rural and āśramaic life over the urban. The play is full of interest and of a high order. The sixth act of the play appears an imitation of what is most pathetic in Kālidasa's Śākuntala. As the entire scene in the said act is quite inappropriate to the trend

of the play, one will be obliged to conclude that the great Kālidasa could never have copied from this author almost *in toto*. No doubt many passages in the play bear resemblance to passages in the works of Māgha, Bhavabhūti and others, but strangely enough the whole of the sixth act of the play is almost a reproduction of the best parts of Kālidasa's Śakuntala.

The play does not unfortunately reveal the name of the author. The editor Kālidasa Sasī has ascribed it to Bhāsa because the play resembles those of the Trivandrum group, in respect of the prologue. A closer examination reveals the dissimilarities to be too numerous in respect of the peculiar aspects of the Trivandrum plays to conclude that this play also can belong to that group.

The situations in the play are very modern. Sita and Rāma are made to meet each other for mutual acceptance even before the latter's handing the Śivadhanus. The etiquette amongst people of different social status is different from that depicted in the Trivandrum and other older plays. Further, the second line of verse 40 in Act IV of the play is the same as that of the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the Nātyāśāstra, as Bhāsa's. The verse of Bhāsa mentioned above reads.—

लेतायुगे यदि न तद्दिनं मैश्चिलो सा,
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदुचास्य चेतः ।
लब्ध्वा जेनः सपर्दि रावणमस्य कायं
प्रोक्त्य तत्पतिलङ्घो न विरुद्धिमेति ॥

The verse in Yajñeshvara is :—

रक्षांसि निर्देयं मनांसि महाबलानि
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदुचास्य चेतः ।
सिद्धं कर्यं भवतु तेऽध्वररक्षणं तत
शक्या हि नैव वनजेन वनामि शान्तिः ॥

A noteworthy point in the above is that the word रागपदवी will have to be construed differently in the two verses and that the sense in the case of the latter is much strained

while the former verse is simple and charming. Hence, one will have to conclude that while the line in question is borrowed by our author, the beauty and sense of it in its proper context is overlooked. As such it might be observed that the above points throw enough light to conclude that the author of the play cannot be Bhāsa and that whoever he may be, he cannot be prior to either Bhāsa or Kālidāsa.

Although the authorship of the play is disputable, the play being of a high order, the editor is to be congratulated in bringing it to light.

S. R.

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NOTES

TIPPU'S KHALIQABAD COINS AND THE MINT

BY G. LAZARUS, B.A., L.T.

ABOUT a century back scholars like William Marsden and Lieut. H. P. Hawkes thought that Khaliqabad which means the City of God was the name given by Tippu to Chandagal, a small village near Seringapatam on the other side of the river Kaveri. Later Dr. Taylor and the historian Mr. Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani have argued that it referred to Dindigul. This argument looks convincing for Khaliqabad coins are obtained in greater numbers in and around Dindigul than in other places. Unlike the coins of the other mints of Tippu, his Khaliqabad coins are rude and rough and contain many blunders in date and legend owing to the fact that the Hindu die cutters were ignorant of Arabic numerals and characters. Mr. J. R. Henderson and other authors mention only four denominations of Khaliqabad coins (1) gold fanam, (2) copper paisa, (3) half paisa, (4) quarter paisa. The paisa, half paisa and quarter paisa weigh 160 grains, 80 grains and 40 grains respectively. The coins bear the dates from Hijiri 1215 to 1218 (1787 to 1790 A. D.) The most common, the quarter paisa is of various patterns and bears the date 1225 (mistake for 1215). Some quarter paisas weigh from 40 to 45 grains.

Mr. Henderson and others mention one-eighth paisas having been struck at Pattan, Nagar, Bangalore, Ferrukh-Yab-Hisar, and Salamabad mints, but there is no mention of one-eighth paisa of the Khaliqabad mint. I have with me two one-eighth paisas of the Khaliqabad mint one weighing about 25 grains and the other 20 grains. In the obverse of the former the figure of an elephant advances to right with uplifted tail and the date 7 | 1 (the last numeral being blanked for want of space.) In the other coin the elephant advances to right with the date 0 7 | ; to the right of the date and separated from it by the tip of the elephant's tail is the numeral 0 (the date being an error for 0 | 1 | .) The reverse of both the coins bear the usual legend of the Khaliqabad coins.

Syed Sahib a nephew of Mir Sahib who was Haidar's wife's sister's husband had been appointed in the year 1784 as the

Governor of the Dindigul Province which then comprised eighteen poliyams, visited the place in 1788. It was during Syed Sabib's governorship that the coins were struck. From local enquiries and personal observations I have been able to conclude that the mint was at Chinnakalikanpatty a suburb of the present Chinnalapatty village about six miles south-west of Begampur (a suburb of Dindigul) where the Governor had his residence. Chinnakalikanpatty must have been chosen for the minting of coins on account of the copper and gold smiths who were living there in great numbers. One Kamatchi Asari was the mint master and he superintended the striking of coins. They were struck in a specially constructed shed in front of a small Vinayakar temple which is still in existence. The coins were locally known as the Kaliyan or Kallikan kāsu. The one-eighth paissa was popularly designated as the Chinnakaliyan or Chinnakallikan kāsu. The word Chinnalapatty is also derived from the Hindustani word Chinnal (immoral woman). Kalikanpatty village is only three furlongs north of Chinnakalikanpatty and we still find some Dekkani Muhammadan families who are said to have originally come from Chicacole.

The coin which was greatly used in these parts before Kaliyan kāsu was known as the Kollu kāsu. Kollu is the Tamil word for horse grain. This name had been given on account of the small size of the coin. It was the old Maisur paisa with a chequered reverse. Most of these chequered reverse coins weigh less than 10 grains. In the obverse of some coins we see the Kanarese numerals. In some we see some dots and other symbols. The Maisur coins that are found in and around Dindigul are comparatively smaller in size than those found in Mysore.

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